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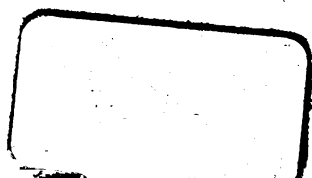
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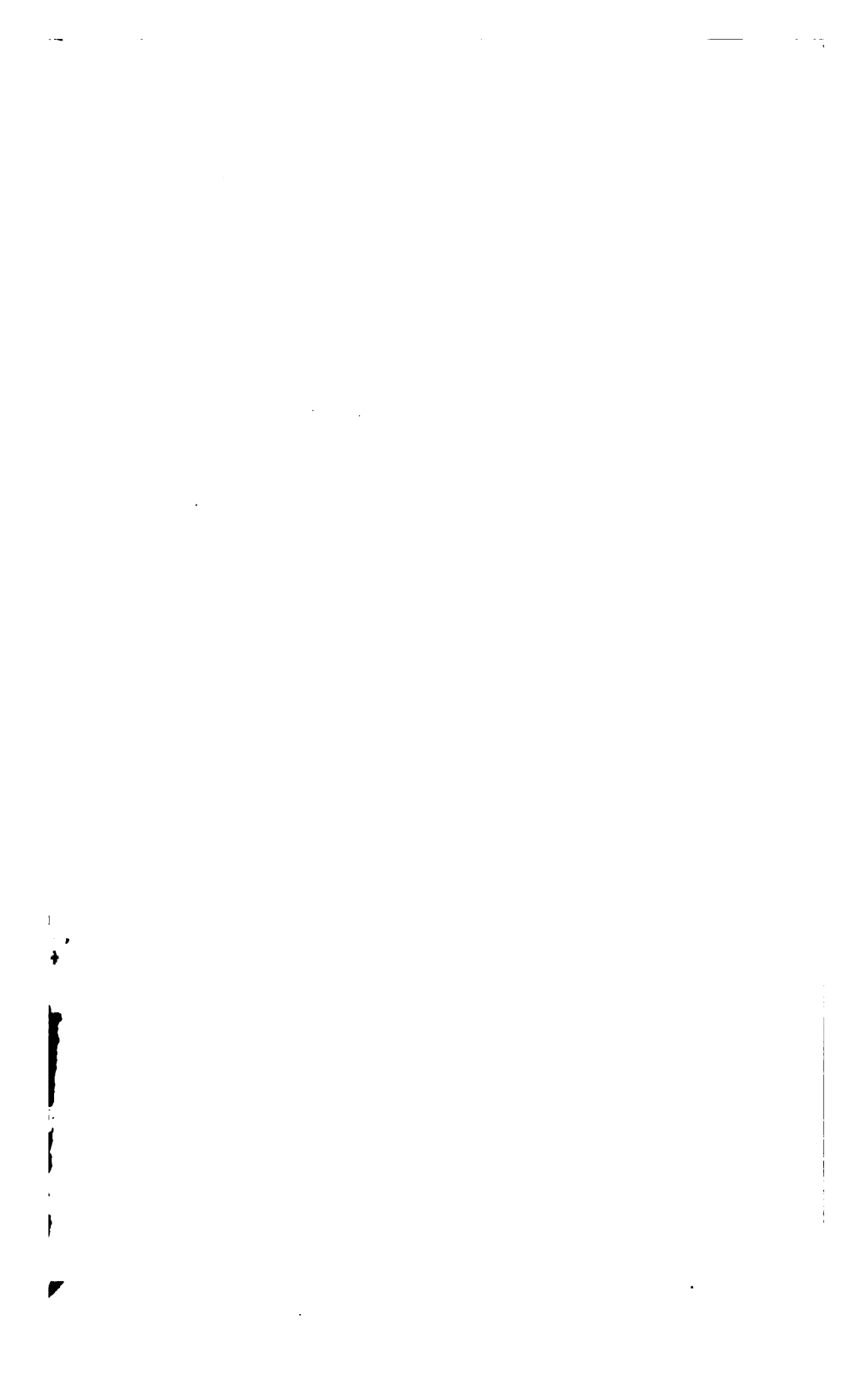
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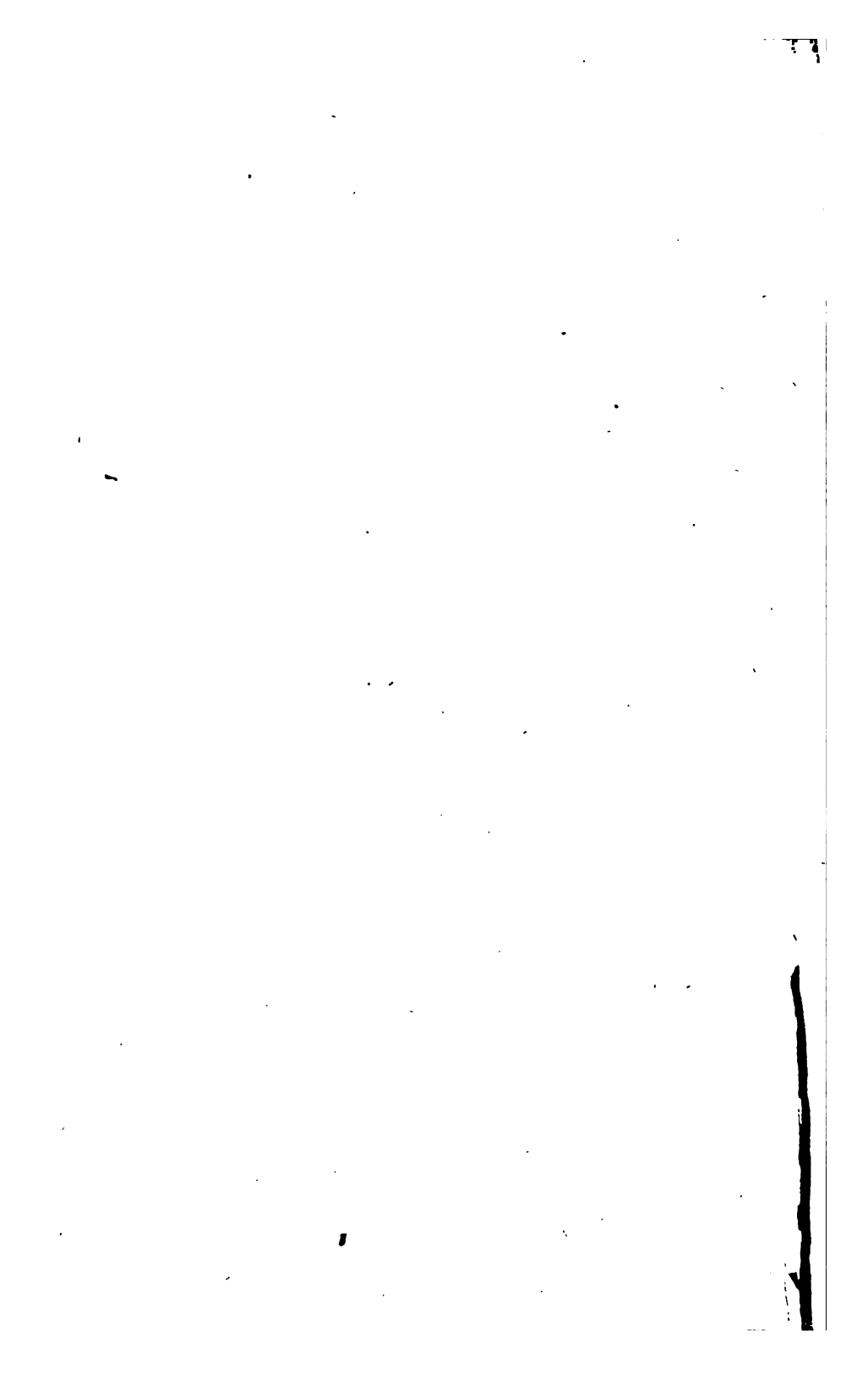
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(Barlow)

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THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND,

FROM THE
EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

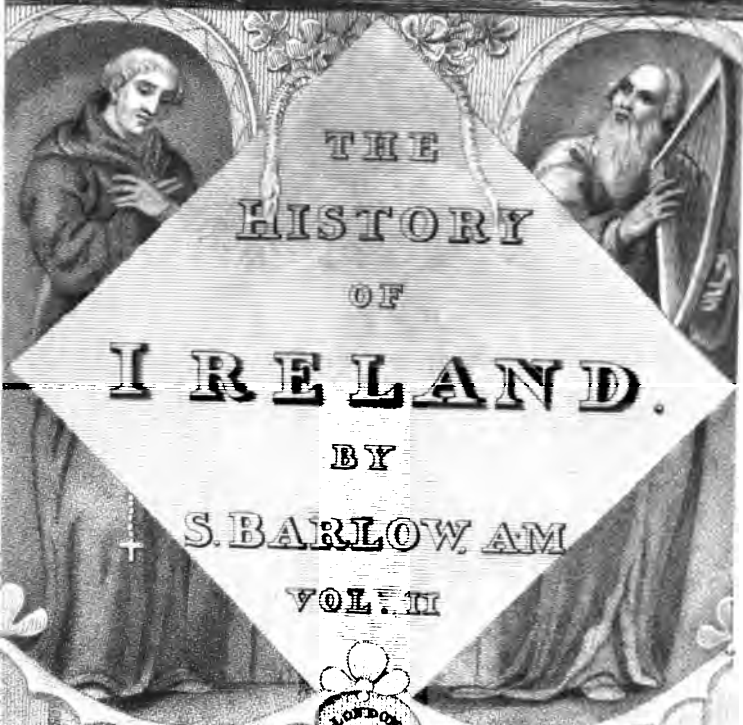
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BY

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VOL. II



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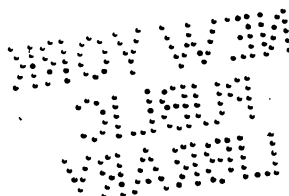
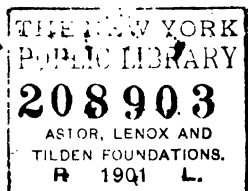
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HISTORY

or

I R E L A N D.

CHAR. I.

Origin of the volunteer system—Its singular character and important services—Exertions made by Mr. Grattan to accomplish a free trade for Ireland—Proceedings upon that subject in the English parliament—Sentiments of Fox upon the Irish volunteers—Determination of the Irish commons to obtain a redress of commercial grievances—Success—Increase of the volunteer bands—Grattan's speech in favour of the legislative independence of Ireland—Issue of the first effort.

THE years 1778 and 1779 present a singular but glorious era to the historian of Ireland. They furnish an instance of military patriotism which it were perhaps vain to look for in the annals of any other country. It was during this period that the volunteer system commenced; an institution

so peculiar, especially in its effects, that its origin deserves to be related with some minuteness.

About this time, and perhaps a year or so before the present period, some detached corps had been embodied in different parts of Ireland, particularly in the county of Wexford, by the public spirit of some gentlemen; but the volunteer army of Ireland is specifically indebted to a letter of Sir Richard Heron for its formation. These hosts of armed citizens, self-paid, self-commissioned, not only protected Ireland, but for many years shed a glory round her; and, while they astonished England, had, it is believed, the power of checking the ambitious projects of France in her mad career. The south of Ireland was languishing under the embargo by which its provision trade was almost wholly annihilated; while the north was equally suffering in its linen trade from the pressure of the American war. This falling off, necessarily impaired the little revenue which the country provided, and while the reduction of the former produced a general discontent, the deficiency of the latter rendered it impossible to pay for the necessary defence of the kingdom. In this state of things the town of Belfast, which had been visited eighteen years before by invasion, and had reason to apprehend a similar calamity now, when the coasts of Ireland were insulted by American privateers, and vessels captured in sight of land, and when France was openly leagued with

America in her revolt from the mother country, applied to government for protection against the common enemy, who then menaced it with peculiar danger. Sir Robert Heron (secretary to the Earl of Buckinghamshire) returned a very plain and candid answer; government could afford it none.

Many idle suggestions have, at various periods, been thrown out against the illegality of the volunteer army; but surely the reply of Sir Robert Heron is an answer to all such opinions. A certain portion of the people apply to government for defence in the hour of extremity; government says, we can afford you none; what then becomes the instinctive duty of the applicants? To provide for their own defence. The compact between the state and the people is dissolved so far as it applies to that peculiar case; and it would be a frantic kind of loyalty and submission if individuals, so circumstanced, should say, "Well, we will not take arms into our own hands; since it so happens that we cannot be defended by the government, we are too dutiful to act in our own defence; we will remain still, and quietly

* *Heu! nescia mens homini futuri!*

"Little did that ill-fated monarch know that he was forming the first causes of those disastrous events that were to end in the subversion of his throne, in the slaughter of his family, and the deluging his country with the blood of his people."—Curran's speech in defence of Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Esq.

4 Surprise of government at the volunteer system.

await the destruction that threatens us." It may be doubted whether such heroism would find many admirers or any imitators.

Well then, thus abandoned to their own means of defence, their spirit soon supplied the defects and imbecillity of administration. Belfast, Antrim, and the adjacent counties, poured forth their armed citizens. The town of Armagh raised a body of men, at the head of whom Lord Charlemont placed himself. Every day beheld the institution expand, a noble ardour was almost every where diffused, and even where it was not *felt* perhaps, it was at least *imitated*. Several who had at first stood aloof from motives of distrust as to the object of these associations, and their constitutional character, now joined them, and so general was the enthusiasm that no landlord could meet his tenants, nor any member of parliament his constituents, who was not willing to serve and act with the gallant band of his countrymen. Government was astonished. It beheld, with unavailing regret, the effects of its own work, and saw enough to dismay them, though their prophetic eye could not take in all the future, nor their minds anticipate all that was destined to flow from this patriotic body of men. It was beyond their power to dissolve the cohorts that associated themselves for military glory and to save their country. Contending dangers agitated administration. An army acting without any authority from the crown was a subject of

great alarm, but French invasion was a cause of alarm still more immediate; and yet no other troops had misters to oppose to invasion than this formidable volunteer army, with whom, or without whom, they now did not know how to live. America had drained both kingdoms of their forces, and, for the raising of a militia, government had no money and the volunteers no inclination. They looked around for succour, but they looked in vain *. In little more than a year their numbers amounted to 42,000 men. The Duke of Leinster, the Earl of Clanricarde, Lord Charlemont, not to mention other noblemen and gentlemen of the highest stations, commanded them in different districts.

Having thus briefly related the origin of these celebrated associations, it will remain to be developed, in the regular progress of this history, what share they afterwards took in the political events that affected their country.

After a long recess, the Earl of Buckinghamshire convened the parliament on the 12th October, 1779. Mr. Grattan opposed the speech of the lord-lieutenant, as containing nothing explicit,

* The only expedient that was had recourse to, in order to divide the volunteers, was to propose to some of their officers in the south to get commissions from the crown, or take them out at first, as for form's sake merely; because, said they, in case of an invasion, and your being taken prisoners, such commissions alone will entitle you to an exchange. At that very moment a noble English army was captive in America.

nothing satisfactory. The interests of Ireland were neglected by the ministry; no system of amelioration, no plan of improvement was suggested. She seemed to be deserted, and no redress offered itself, but what sprung from the people themselves. But was it wise, was it politic, to force the people upon the amending of their own wrongs? Mr. Grattan moved an amendment, which depicted in vivid colours the distressed state of the country, and maintained that the only resource left to support their expiring trade was to open a free export trade, and to let his majesty's subjects enjoy their natural birthright. Not only the leading patriots on this occasion, but even several of the immediate servants of the crown, were for the amendment. Mr. Hussey Burgh, who was then prime serjeant, acting with a view to ministerial finesse, and in order to deprive Mr. Grattan of the honour of carrying his amendment, moved, in lieu of it one exactly similar in spirit, and which was unanimously assented to *. This was, that " it is

* Mr. Hardy, who seems to have had a minute knowledge of all the various springs that regulated the political measures of the last thirty years, gives the following history of this famous and operative resolution :

" To counteract Mr. Grattan's amendment the ministerial speakers introduced much general expression as to the trade of Ireland, but the opposition could not be so deceived. It was resolved, that a positive unequivocal requisition to be restored to our commercial rights should be preferred by the house of commons. Mr. Grattan's amendment was prefaced

not by temporary expedients, but by a free trade alone, that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin." This address was carried by the speaker to the viceroy amid the thundering acclamations of the populace, between two lines of Dublin volunteers, commanded by the Duke of Leinster, in arms and uniforms, which extended the whole way from the parliament-house to the castle. So perfectly correct as well as spirited had the conduct of the volunteer army been throughout the kingdom, that the house of commons, almost as soon as it met, voted their unanimous thanks to them. In the upper house a simi-

by a preamble, stating the necessity and justice of our claims. Mr. Burgh, at that time prime serjeant, approved of the amendment, but condemned the preamble, and suggested one short simple proposition. Mr. Flood whispered him across the benches, 'State a free trade merely.' Burgh instantly adopted the words, and moved, that nothing but a free trade could save the country from ruin. Mr. Grattan at first objected to the withdrawing the preamble, as he not only considered it a necessary adjunct to any motion that could be made on the subject, but was afraid, by dividing the proposition, to make room for some adroit and successful parliamentary manoeuvre which would get rid of the whole. However, when Mr. Connolly, the brother-in-law of the lord-lieutenant, and who, from that connexion, as well as his rank and situation, might, in the fluctuating state of the house, have commanded a majority, not only expressed himself strongly in favour of a free trade, but against the preamble, Mr. Grattan withdrew it, stating, at the same time, that he did so in the full and entire expectation that the resolution as to a free trade should be unequivocally supported. Mr. Burgh's amendment was then put and carried unanimously."

10 Irish commons resolved upon commercial redress.

when all other means failed, resistance, he should ever hold, was perfectly justifiable."

. It may be briefly observed upon the doctrine contained in this extract, that it is one more calculated to produce injury than benefit. When any body of men, acting together for the attainment of one common purpose, are told from high authority, that armed resistance—in other words, rebellion—is justifiable if all other means have failed, it is not difficult to conceive they will dispense with the *if*, assume the proposition as proved, and act upon the assumption of a general principle directly subversive of all government, and hostile to the foundations of civil society. A more moderate, a more practicable, and a safer system to inculcate would be to refer the alternative of seizing arms only to extreme cases, clearly and definitely proved. The warmest admirers of Mr. Fox, however, must admit, that his notions of liberty and freedom partook somewhat too largely of republicanism, which seemed in him, to be grafted upon the pure stock of whiggism. His conduct during the French revolution proved this.—To return, however, to Ireland and her concerns.

So determined were the Irish commons on the redress of commercial grievances that they spiritedly resolved to vote the bills of supply for the first time for only six months; and they were transmitted to England, where, however mortify-

Lord North brings forward his propositions: 21

ing to ministers, they were reluctantly passed. The house likewise unanimously resolved, that the exportation from Ireland of its woollen and other manufactures to all foreign places would materially tend to relieve its distresses, and thus advance the common strength of the British empire; and that a liberty to trade with the British settlements abroad, in like manner as commerce was conducted between Great Britain and those settlements, would be a most affectionate mark of the regard of Great Britain for this country, and give new vigour to the zeal of the Irish to stand forward in the support of his majesty's person and government, and the interest and dignity of the British empire. So determined, indeed, was the Irish house of commons to assert and maintain their rights, in defiance of the endeavours in England to destroy them, that they carried, by a majority of 170 to 47, a resolution, that at this time (1779) it would be inexpedient to grant new taxes.

Such an effect was produced on the government and people of Britain by the resolutions of the Irish parliament, by the declaration of the armed bands, and by the general agreement which had been entered into for the non-importation of British manufactures, that in Nov. 1779, the house of commons being then in a committee on the affairs of Ireland, Lord North opened his three propositions relative to the allowing Ireland

12 *Commercial concessions granted to Ireland:*

a free export of wool *, woollens, and woolflock; a free exportation of glass, and all kinds of glass manufactures; and a freedom of trade with the British plantations on certain conditions, the basis of which was to be an equality of taxes and customs upon an equal and unrestrained trade. Bills founded upon the first two propositions were brought in, passed both houses with the utmost facility, and received the royal assent before the recess. The third, being more complex in its nature, was suffered to lie over during the approaching holidays in its state of an open proposition, to afford time for consideration in Ireland, and to acquire knowledge of the effect which the measure was likely to produce there.

The progress of an enslaved people in their attainment of liberty is slow but regular. Sometimes, as in France, a sudden explosion overthrows existing institutions without substituting anything durable in its stead; but when a nation proceeds by steady and constitutional steps to throw off the chains that fetter them, they advance by gradual progression, and establish upon firm foundations every acquisition they make. Such was precisely the career of Ireland. She had now extorted from England an acknowledgment of a principle vitally important to her interests;

* Hutchinson, in his valuable Letters upon the Commercial Restraints of Ireland, shews in a forcible manner, that all her distresses arose from the destruction of her woollen trade.

Limited, however, by an offensive provision. 13

and though the concession could not be immediately beneficial, for a trade once thoroughly crippled and destroyed cannot speedily revive, yet it produced much joy in the country. It produced also another effect. It afforded a practical proof of what might be accomplished by perseverance and a determined effort after just privilege and right. There was one feature, indeed, that marked the concession, which could not be very acceptable to Ireland. Lord North, in order to conciliate the sordid jealousies and narrow commercial views of the British traders, had represented the measure as a *boon resumable at pleasure*; and consequently a very general apprehension was entertained that it *would be*, at some time or other, resumed; perhaps at that very moment when its operative influence began to exhibit itself in a flourishing trade, an improved revenue and thriving manufactures.

The danger, being clearly visible, the next step was to consider what mode of averting it remained to be adopted; and the first that suggested itself was that very obvious one of an INDEPENDENT LEGISLATURE. While it was competent for England to enact laws that might bind Ireland, it was utterly impossible that Ireland could ever be securely free. That which might be granted one year, might be taken away the next; and their dearest interests would be subjected to the fluctuating policy of a foreign legislature. From this view

14 *The volunteers assume political functions.*

of their condition they soon learned to direct their thoughts and endeavours towards its amelioration.

The volunteers took a noble and decisive part in this crisis. The original purpose of their formation seemed already to be forgotten, and they now formed themselves into battalions on a system of regular communication. They had bravely contributed to the acquisition of a free trade for their country. In 1778 they amounted to 30,000 men; they had been regularly increasing from that period, and while they submitted to all the most rigorous duties of military discipline, arming themselves at their own expence, they laboured unremittingly to infuse into their whole mass one common feeling as to the political condition of their country, and the necessity of emancipating her. They were successful: the generous enthusiasm spread from corps to corps, from town to town, from county to county, from one end of the kingdom to the other. In the beginning of the year 1780 they entered upon the plan of general organization; they appointed reviews for the ensuing summer, and chose their exercising officers and reviewing generals. They openly declared their opinions upon the state of public affairs; the newspapers teemed with the resolutions of the different corps, all speaking the same language, all asserting the native independence of Ireland, all declaring a fixed determination to establish that independence.

Motion in favour of legislative independence. 18

While these military patriots were thus, out of doors, sedulously preparing the country for the restoration of its liberty*, the few patriots in the legislature, who still stood firm in their country's cause, and at the head of which noble band the illustrious Grattan placed himself, were co-operating to produce a similar influence in parliament. On the 19th April, 1780, Mr. Grattan, in a speech that never, perhaps, was excelled in ancient or modern times, which "fulminated over" Ireland like a thunder-bolt, moved, that the house should resolve, and enter on the Journals, "*That no power on earth, save the king, lords and commons of Ireland, had a right to make laws for Ireland.*" Of this celebrated oration the following is the best report extant; and we insert it here as containing the first distinguished effort of that great man in behalf of his country; but the unanimous testimony of all who *heard* him concur in declaring, that it affords only a very faint outline of the matchless whole. Mr. Hardy says, that "the language of Milton or Shakspeare can alone describe its effects."

* On the 9th of June, 1780, the Dublin volunteers, the Duke of Leinster (the premier nobleman of Ireland) in the chair as president, resolved, "That the king, lords and commons of Ireland only were competent to make laws binding the subjects of this realm; and that they would not obey or give operation to any laws save only those enacted by the king, lords and commons of Ireland, whose rights and privileges, jointly and severally, they were determined to support with their lives and fortunes."

" SIR,

" I have intreated an attendance of the house on this day to protest against the usurpation of the parliament of Great Britain, and to join with me in lifting up their hands and voices against such usurpations. Two millions of people out of doors were to be satisfied; and had I a son, I would, like the father of Hannibal, bring him to the altar, to swear the sacred maintenance of the peoples' rights. I would move them to as full and ample a declaration as could be done without shaking the pillars of the state. It is impossible to stop the voice of millions; the public voice is not at ease—enough is not done. You are the guardians of the public liberty, you owe your country that liberty, and she calls upon you to restore it; she calls upon you to make Great Britain revoke the injustice of her laws, and restore your political as she has your commercial freedom. In passing the bills for liberating your trade, the British minister has made use of the words, *that it was expedient to allow Ireland to export her own products.* *Expedient* is a word of great reserve. *Expedient* is a word fatal to Great Britain; by such a word she lost America, and plunged her country in scenes of blood. By this reservation your trade is in the power of England, whenever she may think proper to take it away. We were allowed a moment of satisfaction, but not a relief from slavery.

God has afforded you an opportunity to emancipate yourselves and your posterity; wait not the issue of a general peace, when the direction of her power on this fated island may again lay you in bondage. For the honour of your country—for the honour of human nature—by the memory of your sufferings—by the sense you feel of your wrongs—by the love you owe your posterity—by the dignity and generous feelings of Irishmen—I beseech you to seize the auspicious occasion, and let this be the hour of your freedom! The doctrine of parliamentary supremacy Great Britain now finds to be nonsense—parliamentary supremacy has been the bane of Great Britain. Her enemies are on all sides pouring in on her. The sea is not her's; the honour of her councils and arms 'is tarnished. She has no army—no fleet—no admirals—no generals. A supineness pervades her measures, and distractions attend her councils. Parliament is the only spring to convey the native voice of the people; never did this or any other country behold a senate possessed of so much public confidence. There is an ardent combination among the people, a fire which animates the nation to its own redemption—a sacred enthusiasm, unexpressed in the language of antiquity, and which only belongs to the natural confidence of freedom. Forty thousand men in arms look up to the result of this day's deliberation. Let the lovers of freedom rejoice at that martial

-18 *Motives for asserting the liberty of Ireland.*

spirit which has operated to national happiness. If ye refuse to comply with the resolution of this day, you belie the desire of your constituents. A providential conjunction and the hand of God seem to demand and direct it. Grasp at a blessing which promises independence and happiness.

Yesterday the servants of the crown were asked, whether a standing army of fifteen thousand Irishmen were to be bound in this kingdom by English laws? and the servants of the crown have asserted that they shall. The servants of the crown have dared to avow that they shall be bound by English laws. This is the consequence of your rejoicing at a partial repeal of the laws which oppressed you—your exultation betrayed your rights. The courtier may have his salary—the landed gentleman may have his rent—you may export the commodities of your country, and bring the returns of another—but liberty—liberty; the consummation of all trade, is wanting. The superstructure is left without a base—you have commerce without a full trade, and a senate without a parliament. When I found a prohibition upon glass and other commodities, when I found an act of the 6th of George the First, which expressly claimed a power of binding this kingdom—the king, without its parliament, enacted a law to bind the people of Ireland, by making laws for them—it was time to call the authority of England a rod of tyranny. I call upon the judges of the law, the justices of the peace, the officers of the army,

to say whether they do not act under the direction of English statutes? A present and explicit declaration of rights must remove all this. Three millions of people must feel how necessary it is to be as free as the people of England. They must behold with veneration a parliament superior to every other, and equal to that which passed the bill of rights. A senate composed of men that would do honour to Rome, when Rome did honour to human nature.

“ The enemies of Ireland may call the efforts of the people the proceedings of a mob. A mob stopped your magistrates in their obedience to English laws, and vindicated your abdicated privileges. I shall be told this was the turbulence of the times; and so may every effort for freedom in the history of mankind be called. Your fathers were slaves, and lost their liberties to the legislature of England;—the kingdom became a plantation—the spirit of independence was banished—the fears of parliament made it grant, in a strain of trembling servility, whatever was demanded. Men of overgrown fortunes became the very jobbers of corruption; they voted an embargo, which brought bankruptcy on the prince and misery on the people. The people saw nothing but starving manufactures, a corrupt senate, and a military combination. The courtier was glad to petition for a free trade, and England to grant it; but the unconstitutional power of an English attorney-general, and an English parliament, still remains.

20 *Necessity of legislative independence.*

Eighteen or nineteen counties, deserving to be free, and who are your legal constituents, have petitioned for this redemption. You may lull the public with addresses, but the public mind will never be well at ease until the shackles are removed. The maxims of one country go to take away the liberties of another. Nature rebels at the idea, and the body becomes mutinous. There is no middle course left; win the heart of an Irishman, or else cut off his hand. A nation infringed on as Ireland, and armed as Ireland, must have equal freedom; any thing else is an insult. The opportunity prompts—the spirit of the people prompts—the opinion of the judges prompts. No arguments can be urged against it but two; one is, the real belief that the British nation is a generous one, witness the contribution sent to Corsica, and the relief afforded Holland; and the other, their uniform hatred of an administration that brought destruction on the British dominions. If England is a tyrant, it is Ireland made her so by obeying—The slave makes the tyrant. What can prevent the completion of our demands? It is not in the power of England to resist. Can she war against ten millions of French, eight millions of Spaniards, three millions of Americans, three millions of Irish? England cannot withstand accumulated millions, with her ten millions; with a national debt of 200 millions, a peace establishment of 21 millions, can she pretend to dictate terms? She

offered America the entire cession of her parliamentary power, and can she refuse the Irish the freedom of fellow subjects? Every thing short of total independence was offered to the Americans; and will she yield that to their arms, and refuse it to your loyalty? Nothing but a subjugation of mind can make the great men of Ireland tremble at every combination for liberty. When you possess this liberty, you will be surprised at your situation; and though jobbers may deem your ardour phrenzy, it will be a fortunate madness; a declaration will be the result. Your constituents have instructed, and they will support you; for public pride and public necessity will find resources. What will your judges and your commissioners, who have refused to abide by English laws, say? Will you abdicate, will you bring them into contempt? Eighteen counties have declared against it, and no man in this house dare defend the claims of the English. It is the sense of this side the house, not to give an assent to the money-bills until we obtain this declaratory act. The mock moderators, who go about preaching peace, are the really factious, and the worst enemies of this country. Have you been for a century contending against the power of an English attorney-general, and dare not conquer, though lying at your mercy? The great charter has not been confirmed as often as our rights have been violated. You may be told indeed you are ungrateful. I know of no gratitude which can make

22 *The impressive adjuration of Mr. Grattan.*

me wear the badge of slavery. Insatiable we may be told we are, when Ireland desires nothing but what England has robbed her of. When you have emboldened the judges to declare your rights they will not be afraid to maintain them. His majesty has no title to his crown but what you have to your liberty; if your exertions in that cause are condemned, the revolution was an act of perjury, and the petition of right an act of rebellion. The oaths made to the house of Stuart were broken for the sake of liberty, and we live too near the British nation to be less than equal to it. Insulted by the British parliament, there is no policy left for the English but to do justice to a people who are otherwise determined to do justice to themselves. Common trade and common liberty will give strength to our constitution, and make both nations immortal; the laws of God, the laws of nature, and the laws of nations call loudly for it. Let not that supremacy, which has withered the land, remain uncontroverted. Do not, by opposing the present opportunity, give that destructive blow to the balance of the constitution which shall weigh it down beyond the power of recovery. Do not let the curses of your children, and your reflections in old age, weigh you down to the grave with bitterness. Forgetful of past violations and present opportunity, let nobody say the parliament was bought by a broken ministry and an empty treasury. That having made a god of self-inte-

rest, you kneeled down to worship the idol of corruption. Your exertions now will be the basis for erecting a temple to liberty. By the inspiration of the present opportunity,—by the affection you owe posterity—by all the ties which constitute the well being of a people, assert and maintain the liberties of your country. I have no design, I ask for no favour, but to breathe in common in a nation of freedom; but I never will be satisfied as long as a link of the British chain is clanking to the heels of the meanest peasant.” Mr. Grattan then moved that the house resolve, *“That the king’s most excellent majesty, Lords and Commons of Ireland, are the ONLY powers competent to make laws to bind this kingdom.”*

Mr. STUART rose to second this motion, and delivered his opinion of the immediate necessity there was for carrying the present resolution.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL proposed an amendment, *“to adjourn the question until the first day of September next.”*

The Right Honourable Mr. BURGH, notwithstanding the report of his illness, attended in his place, and, with an eloquence to which it would be impossible to do justice, most ably supported the motion, combating and refuting whatever was urged from the side of government against it. He said he owed no favour to administration; they knew it; for he had scorned what they offered: nor would he oppose administration to embarrass them, and he hoped every gentleman

would support them when right. He acted, he said, from pure constitutional motives, to support the rights and privileges of his country, which he hoped he ever should do.

“ The question before the house was no less than the very palladium of the Irish constitution; and gentlemen seemed to rely much on the impropriety of urging a decision, because a similar resolution to that now moved for appeared upon the face of their Journals in the month of July, 1641; and, as the question of adjournment had been moved, he would beg leave to offer an amendment, which he hoped would conciliate all parties. The amendment was to this purport, *“ That there being an equal resolution on the books with the one now moved, the same may be, for that reason, adjourned to the first day of September next.”*

Mr. Grattan (on being pressed by the government party to withdraw his motion) said, “ he never could consent to withdraw the proposed declaration of rights, when a great law officer had asserted, that the parliament of England had a right to bind the people of Ireland. It was impossible to wave the declaration; as to the person who made the assertion in favour of England, he was *an unhappy man*. Another gentleman had presumed to call the sense of eighteen counties *fuction, riot, clamour*. He hoped *such idle babble*—*such idle babble*—would have no weight against the rights of a people,

"The amendment of the Right Hon. Hussey Burgh to the attorney-general's motion for adjourning the question to the first of September, being a truism, could not be controverted, and the ministerial side, though from the complexion of the house it was evident they had a majority, were afraid to let the question on Mr. Burgh's amendment be put, as, if it was carried, it entirely established the declaration of right; let Mr. Grattan's motion then go as it would. Their embarrassment was at length put an end to by the Right Hon. Hussey Burgh, who at twenty minutes past six in the morning, moved, "*that the house be adjourned,*" which, precluding every motion, was of course immediately put, and carried unanimously."

Such was the termination of this first effort in behalf of the legislative independence of Ireland. But one of the threats contained in this oration was afterwards partially abandoned. Upon some appearance of sincerity in the British cabinet and parliament, the Irish house of commons proceeded to take into serious consideration the regulations necessary to place the commerce of the kingdom on a footing of stability. The supplies were granted for a year and a half longer, and 260,000*l.* were to be ordered be raised by treasury-bills or by a lottery, as the lord-lieutenant should direct. It deserves to be remarked, that this was the first time the mischievous expedient of a lottery had been resorted to in Ireland.

When the first fervour of joy with which the commercial concessions inspired all classes of the community had somewhat abated, and men began to reason and examine into the nature of the boon they had so proudly rejoiced in, much was found that caused dissatisfaction. Among other things, the proposed system of equalizing the duties between the sister kingdoms was disapproved of; and government, with the height of imprudence, inflamed a nation already discontented, and with arms in their hands, by the pertinacious adoption of two measures eminently unpopular. One was the mutiny bill, for the punishment of mutiny and desertion in the army, and which, instead of being limited to a year, as it had been originally framed, according to the mode always practised in Britain, was, by an alteration, rendered *perpetual*. This alteration had been made by the cabinet at home after it was transmitted from Ireland by the lord lieutenant. The other measure was for the imposition of a duty on refined sugars imported into Ireland, for the purpose of encouraging at home the refining business; which bill was so modified by the British cabinet as to reduce the duty. Discontent spread throughout the nation; petitions were presented from various parts; but government, in defiance of this popular discontent, passed the altered mutiny bill by a majority of 69 to 25. Against these proceedings, however, the merchants' corps of volunteers, convened at the Royal Exchange, Dublin,

passed very strong resolutions, which were printed in the public papers, and similar resolutions were entered into by many other volunteer bodies. Against some of these resolutions, contained in newspapers, and which were of a most libellous nature as affecting the house of commons, a vote of censure was passed by that house, without any apparently direct application to the then formidable associations of armed citizens. At length, however, the session, which had been protracted to an unusual length, was put an end to on the 2d Sept. 1780, by prorogation. It had continued with augmented unpopularity, for, besides other proceedings of an unpleasant kind, two very popular bills had been rejected, one introduced by Barry Yelverton for a modification of Poynings's law; the other by John Forbes for the independence of the judges.

CHAP. II.

Administration of the Earl of Carlisle—His character—Accompanied by Mr. Eden (now Lord Auckland) as secretary—Thanks of the house voted to the volunteers—Mr. Gardiner's efforts in behalf of the Roman catholics—Resolutions of the Ulster volunteers—Celebrated meeting of Dungannon—Resolutions passed there—Administration of the Marquis of Rockingham and Fox—Letters from those statesmen to Lord Charlemont—The Duke of Portland appointed viceroy—Under the auspices of this ministry the legislative independence of Ireland accomplished—Splendid exertions of Grattan.

THE administration of Lord Buckinghamshire gave little satisfaction to the ministers at home, and it gave as little to Ireland. It was his fate to displease both parties, and to be neglected by his employers in a manner equally disingenuous and unprincipled. He was sincerely desirous of promoting the welfare of Ireland, and the late Lord Pery, while he declared that never man was worse used than Lord Buckinghamshire, declared also that his dispatches, in proportion as he became

acquainted with the country, were just, accurate, and in every respect those of an honest man. But ministers paid little or no attention to them, and blamed him for effects which it was not in his power to controul, but which might be traced to their own pernicious and vacillating councils. In the hope, however, of concealing their own inefficiency they recalled his lordship, and Lord Carlisle was appointed his successor on the 23d December, 1780.

The Earl of Carlisle was a nobleman of high birth, polished mind, and graceful manners. He had cultivated letters with some degree of success, and his literary exertions obtained the approbation of Johnson at a period a little subsequent to his arrival in Ireland. He was accompanied, as secretary, by Mr. Eden, now Lord Auckland. That gentleman had also some claims to the distinctions of literature. He had, in the preceding year (1779) published four letters (addressed to the Earl of Carlisle) on political topics, the last of which was on the *Representations of Ireland respecting a free Trade*. He was the very reverse of Sir Richard Heron. Perfectly skilled in parliamentary language and management, of quick as well as versatile parts, consummate talents for business and correspondent industry, he was well calculated not only to guide the nation in its newly opened path of commerce, but to form such establishments as would advance its progress therein, and enable them to improve

56 *Parliament assembled in October, 1781.*

what they had acquired. But for such acquisitions a more pacific period was requisite. The nation called aloud for independence, and without a free constitution they regarded a free trade as altogether insecure, and, so far, of inferior value.

Lord Carlisle did not assemble the parliament till October, 1781, when it had become notorious that government wished to check and disarm the volunteers, though they were afraid to adopt the measures necessary for success. They had distributed 16,000 stand of arms, and they were compelled to court the power they dreaded. These armed societies had now increased to 50,000 men, regimented and improved in tactics by reviews. In the debate upon the address Mr. Grattan took notice of the cautious omission of the word *volunteers*, a wholesome and salutary term, which he wished to familiarize to the royal ear. Mr. O'Neil then moved, that the thanks of the house should be given to all the volunteers of Ireland for their unremitted exertions, and for their loyal and spirited declarations on the late expected invasion, which, with the exception of Mr. Fitzgibbon and Mr. Scott, who afterwards withdrew their objections, passed with unanimous good will. Various other patriotic measures were introduced, but not always with success. They served, however, to demonstrate the state of public opinion, and the feelings of the time; and indeed so rapidly did the enthusiasm spread among

all parties that the court majorities were gradually diminished, till at last they were fairly beat down upon several great national questions. Among those now brought forward was one for leave to bring in heads of an *habeas corpus* bill by Mr. Bradstreet, Recorder of Dublin, who observed, that the liberty of Ireland was insecure till an *habeas corpus* act should take place the same as in England. Sir Lucius O'Brien called the attention of the house to their freedom of trade with Portugal, where goods of Irish manufacture were stopped and not permitted to be sold. Mr. Yelverton also gave notice, that after the recess he should move for leave to bring in heads of a bill to regulate the transmission of bills from that kingdom to England. This was intended to remedy part of the legislative evil arising from the operation of Poyning's law, a detailed character of which we gave in the early part of the first volume, and which, as long as it continued, must retain the nation in a state of servile dependency upon England. The necessity of this partial measure, however, was soon removed by a more comprehensive enactment.

During this session Mr. Grattan made a motion for bringing in heads of a bill to explain, amend, and limit an act to prevent mutiny and desertion in the army, which was seconded by Mr. Flood; but it was negatived by a large majority, though some of the ministerial members on this occasion sided with the opposition. The next effort of this

indefatigable patriot related to the finances of Ireland, in which he stated, that their debt, including annuities, amounted to 2,667,600*l.* "which," he observed, "had not been accumulated by directing the artillery of their arms against a foreign enemy, but by directing the artillery of the treasury against their constitution: it was a debt of patronage and prostitution." He concluded by moving for a committee to examine the expences of the nation, and to consider of such retrenchments as should seem necessary. The motion was lost however. In this session likewise (on the 13th Dec. 1781,) Mr. Gardiner intimated his intention of bringing forward a bill for the relief the Roman Catholics, which he hoped to model in such a shape that it would meet with the concurrence of all parties, a thing devoutly to be wished in such a measure. On the day of the adjournment Mr. Gardiner observed, that as many members had expressed their anxiety to know the purport of his intended bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics, and as the house had given no orders for printing it, he would have it printed and distributed at his own expence, that gentlemen might have an opportunity of maturely considering it during the recess.

This was according done, and on the 31st Jan. 1782, he gave notice of his intention to bring in heads of a bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics in Ireland. Leave was given, and on the 5th Feb. Mr. Gardiner being indisposed, Mr.

Dillon presented it. A debate ensued, in the course of which Mr. Fitzgibbon stated his alarm at what he considered to be the tendency of the bill, and advised that a delay should take place, that due time might be afforded for considering it in all its bearings. This was acceded to, and after it was committed, an early day was fixed for its further consideration.

The volunteers now began to take a more decided part in the political transactions of the day. They had arms in their hands, and in their minds they had indefinite but enthusiastic notions of liberty. They assumed a leading station in the affairs of Ireland, and their history is altogether so curious that the history of their transactions shall be given here with some minuteness. The officers of the southern battalion of Lord Charlemont's Armagh regiment was the first that gave movement to the important proceedings of the volunteer army. They met, and came to the following resolutions, which they published throughout the province of Ulster and in Dublin*.

“ First Ulster regiment, commanded by the Earl of Charlemont.

“ At a full meeting, holden at Armagh on Friday the 28th day of December, 1781, of the

* These resolutions, which were their *first*, deserve to be commemorated, as they gave rise to all their future operations.

34 *Resolutions of the Ulster regiment.*

officers and delegates of the southern battalion of the said regiment, consisting of eleven companies, pursuant to adjournment,

“ FRANCIS EVANS, Esq. in the chair,

“ The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be printed in all the newspapers, and published within the province of Ulster, and in the Volunteer Journal of the city of Dublin :

“ *Resolved*, That with the utmost concern we behold the little attention paid to the constitutional rights of this kingdom by the majority of those whose duty it is to establish and preserve the same.

“ *Resolved*, That to avert the impending danger from the nation, and to restore the constitution to its original purity, the most vigorous and effectual methods must be pursued to root out corruption and court influence from the legislative body.

“ *Resolved*, That to open a path towards the attaining this desirable point it is absolutely requisite that a meeting be held in the most central town in the province of Ulster, which we conceive to be Dungannon, to which said meeting every volunteer association of the said province is most earnestly requested to send delegates, then and there to deliberate on the present alarming situation of public affairs, and to determine on and publish to their country what may be the result of said meeting.

The celebrated meeting at Dungannon. 95

“ Resolved, That as many real and lasting advantages may arise to this kingdom from said intended meeting being held, before the present session of parliament is much further advanced, Friday, the 15th day of February next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, is hereby appointed for the said meeting at Dungannon as aforesaid.

“ Resolved, That as at said meeting it is highly probable the idea of forming brigades will be agitated and considered, the several corps of volunteers who send delegates to said meeting are requested to vest in them a power to associate with some one, of such brigades as may be then formed,

“ FRANCIS EVANS, Chairman.”

It may easily be supposed, that in the present temper of the Irish nation, and under circumstances such as existed when the preceding resolutions were issued, the meeting convened by them would be numerously attended. The castle took the alarm, but found it impossible to do any thing to check the evil they dreaded; nor was it government alone that felt uneasy. Persons of all descriptions and all parties manifested their deep concern in the event. But astonishment and regret were equally vain: the day approached: it arrived: the meeting was formed at Dungannon. It consisted of the representatives of 143 corps of the volunteers of Ulster. Colonel William Irvine took the chair. They were all per-

36 *Resolutions passed at this meeting.*

sons of most respectable property. Many of them possessed considerable estates. Their loyalty and patriotism were equally known and acknowledged. Among them were Lord Charlemont, Mr. Flood, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Stewart (member for Tyrone), and Mr. Dobbs, a barrister. Their demeanour was peaceable, and such as became the cause that had assembled them. They passed the following celebrated resolutions.

“Whereas it has been asserted, that volunteers, as such, cannot with propriety debate or publish their opinions on political subjects, or on the conduct of parliament or public men—

“Resolved *unanimously*, That a citizen, by learning the use of arms, does not abandon any of his civil rights.

“Resolved *unanimously*, That a claim of any body of men other than the king, lords and commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

“Resolved, (*with one dissenting voice only*), That the powers exercised by the privy council of both kingdoms, under, or under pretence of the law of Poynings, are unconstitutional, and a grievance.

“Resolved *unanimously*, That the ports of this country are by right open to all foreign countries, not at war with the king, and that any burthen thereupon, or obstruction thereto, save only by

the parliament of Ireland, are unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance;

“ Resolved, (*with one dissenting voice only,*) That a mutiny bill, not limited in point of duration from session to session, is unconstitutional, and a grievance.

“ Resolved *unanimously*, That the independence of the judges is equally essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland as in England, and that the refusal, or delay of this right to Ireland, makes a distinction where there should be no distinction, may excite jealousy where perfect union should prevail, and is in itself unconstitutional, and a grievance.

“ Resolved, (*with eleven dissenting voices only,*) That it is our decided and unalterable determination to seek a redress of these grievances; and we pledge ourselves to each other and to our country, as freeholders, fellow-citizens, and men of honour, that we will, at every ensuing election, support those only who have supported us therein, and that we will use every constitutional means to make such our pursuit of redress speedy and effectual.

“ Resolved, (*with one dissenting voice only,*) That the right honourable and honourable the minority in parliament, who have supported these our constitutional rights, are entitled to our most grateful thanks; and that the annexed Address be signed by the Chairman, and published with these resolutions.

38 *Resolutions passed at this meeting.*

“ Resolved *unanimously*, That four members from each county of the province of Ulster (*elect to be a quorum*) be, and are hereby appointed, a committee till next general meeting, to act for the volunteer corps here represented, and, as occasion shall require, to call general meetings of that province.

“ Resolved *unanimously*, That said committee do appoint nine of their members to be a committee in Dublin, in order to communicate with such other volunteer associations in the other provinces as may think proper to come to similar resolutions, and to deliberate with them on the most constitutional means of carrying them into effect.

“ Resolved *unanimously*, That the committee be, and are hereby instructed to call a general meeting of the province, within twelve months from this day, or in fourteen days after the dissolution of the present parliament, should such an event sooner take place.

“ Resolved *unanimously*, That the court of Portugal have acted towards this kingdom (*being a part of the British empire*) in such a manner as to call upon us to declare, and pledge ourselves to each other, that we will not consume any wine of the growth of Portugal, and that we will, to the utmost extent of our influence, prevent the use of said wine, save and except the wine at present in this kingdom, until such time as our export shall be received in the kingdom of Por-

tugal, as the manufactures of part of the British empire.

" Resolved, (*with two dissenting voices only to this and the following resolutions,*) That we hold the right of private judgment in religion to be equally sacred in others as in ourselves.

" Resolved therefore, That as men and as Irishmen, as Christians and as protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, and that we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland."

" To the Right Honourable and Honourable the
Minority in both Houses of Parliament.

" MY LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN,

" We thank you for your noble and spirited, though hitherto ineffectual efforts in defence of the great constitutional and commercial rights of your country. Go on:—the almost unanimous voice of the people is with you, and in a free country the voice of the people must prevail. We know our duty to our sovereign, and are loyal. We know our duty to ourselves, and are resolved to be free. We seek for our rights, and no more

than our rights; and in so just a pursuit, we should doubt the being of a Providence if we doubted of success.

“ Signed, by order,

“ WILLIAM IRVINE, Chairman.”

Thus ended the business of this memorable day. The meeting was held in the church. Its moderation and patriotic character equally rejoiced the friends and disappointed the enemies of the volunteers. The latter hoped to have found some rash or unconstitutional proceeding which might have been made a pretext for destroying the union altogether.

Passing from the field to the senate, we find Mr. Grattan, the untired labourer in his country's cause, the oracle and idol of his armed countrymen, still urging the claims of Ireland for independence and liberty. On the 22d Feb. only seven days after the Dungannon meeting, he moved in the house of commons for an address to the king, “ to assure his majesty with unfeigned attachment to his person and government, that the people of Ireland were a free people; the crown of Ireland a distinct kingdom, with a parliament of her own; and that with one voice they protested against the interposition of any other

The Roman Catholic bills much opposed. 41

parliament in its legislation. That the claim of the British parliament to legislate for Ireland was useless to England, cruel to Ireland, and without any foundation in law; that, impressed with a high sense of the justice of the British character, and in reliance on his majesty's paternal care, they had set forth their right and sentiments without prescribing any mode to his majesty, and thrown themselves on his royal wisdom." This motion he supported with a variety of arguments, urged in a manner that may make us wonder how they were resisted. It was seconded by Mr. Brownlow; but the attorney-general opposed it, and moved, that it should be put off till the 1st Aug. which was carried by 137 against 68.

The heads of the Roman Catholic bills occasioned much debating in their progress. One was entitled, *an act* for the further relief of his majesty's subjects of this kingdom professing the Roman Catholic religion; by the operation of which catholics were enabled to take, hold, and dispose of, lands and hereditaments in the same manner as protestants, (except advowsons and manors, and boroughs returning members to parliament.) It removed also several penalties from such of the clergy as should have taken the oath of allegiance and been registered; and repealed several of the most obnoxious parts of the acts passed in the reigns of Anne, Geo. I. and Geo. II. Among these obnoxious restraints thus repealed were the following, which may serve to convey some idea

42. *Nature of the enactments repealed.*

of the cruel and rigorous nature of these anti-catholic enactments. It repealed the power given to a magistrate to fine and imprison every papist refusing to appear, and declare upon oath when and where he had last heard mass, who celebrated and assisted at it, and the residence of any popish ecclesiastic; also that part which prohibited a papist to have a horse of the value of 5l. under certain penalties, and which enabled the chief governor to seize all their horses upon any invasion or intestine war likely to happen; that which enabled the grand jury to present the reimbursing of all robberies and depredations of privateers, in time of war, upon the real and personal estates of the catholics within the county; that which subjected every catholic to certain penalties who did not provide a protestant watchman to watch in his turn; and that which subjected to certain penalties every catholic who should take or purchase a house in Limerick or Galway, or the suburbs thereof. Such were a few of the ignominious restrictions which the enlightened government of England thought it necessary to impose, and which, even towards the close of the 18th century, found some defenders! The second bill of Mr. Gardiner was *an act to allow persons professing the popish religion to teach schools in this kingdom, and for the regulating the education of papists; and also to repeal parts of certain laws relative to the guardianship of their children.* Mr. Gardiner had a third bill, which was for

establishing intermarriages between protestants and Roman catholics; but, that was negatived by a majority of eight. Although, however, these and some other bills did not receive the royal assent during the viceroyalty of Lord Carlisle, yet they may be considered as measures originating in his administration, as did also some others, such as one for establishing a national bank in Ireland, and they were the last, for an important change in the councils of England was impending, one that in the event proved equally beneficial to Ireland and America. That ill-fated ministry, which had debilitated the resources of the empire, which had lost America, which had added a hundred millions to the national debt, and which had caused the loss of as many thousand lives, was now tottering to its fall, and soon lay prostrate.

A whig administration succeeded, with the Marquis of Rockingham at its head. Every thing now augured favourably for Ireland. A whig viceroy (the Duke of Portland) was appointed, and for his secretary Colonel Fitzpatrick, a gentleman who to very agreeable and excellent talents, added a most firm and manly mind. Though not born in Ireland, he was of truly ancient and illustrious Irish lineage, being descended from the Princess of Ossory*. This circumstance particularly, as

* The well known erudite antiquary Dr. Ledwich says, "the noble representative of the family of Fitzpatrick, the present Earl of Upper Ossory, (brother to Colonel Fitzpatrick,) possesses the advowson of particular churches and a large

Letter from the Marquis of Rockingham.

well as his general political character, rendered him very acceptable to the people of this country. He preceded the arrival of the Duke of Portland in Ireland a few days, and was the bearer of the following letter to Lord Charlemont from the Marquis of Rockingham, which shall be inserted here, as well as one from Charles James Fox, (who was appointed one of the secretaries of state,) as pleasing records of what were the intentions of those statesmen towards Ireland when they accepted of office. They may be read also with pleasure as epistolary compositions. The one from Lord Rockingham to Lord Charlemont was as follows:

“MY DEAR LORD CHARLEMONT,

“The long and pleasing friendship which has so mutually and so cordially existed between your lordship and me for many, many years, may now, I trust, facilitate what I am sure has been the object of our public conduct—the mutual advantage and prosperity of both these countries. National distrusting and jealousies will not have the smallest weight on either of our minds.

“The Duke of Portland, being appointed Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, is, I think, my dear lord, a pretty good pledge of the fair intentions

estate in Upper Ossory; patrimonies descended to him through a line of progenitors for more than one thousand years—an instance not perhaps to be paralleled in Europe.”

of his majesty's ministers. His grace's character and disposition, of mind, as well as the principles on which he has long acted, are well known to your lordship; and I cannot but hope that many advantages will arise from a trust and confidence in his character, which may produce the happiest effects both in the commencement and progress of such plans as may be suggested. I can assure your lordship, that his majesty's present ministers *will not loiter in a business of such magnitude.* This day his majesty sends a message to the house of commons, stating that distrusts and jealousies have arisen in Ireland, and that it is highly necessary to take them into immediate consideration, in order to a final adjustment. The Duke of Portland will set out for Ireland to-morrow evening. His grace is empowered to send the same message to the parliament of Ireland. I should hope that an adjournment of the house of commons in Ireland, for a fortnight or three weeks, in order to give the Duke of Portland the opportunity of inquiring into the opinions of your lordship and of the gentlemen of the first weight and consequence, will be readily assented to. I cannot think, that it would be good policy in the house of commons of Ireland to carry on measures, at this juncture, which should appear as measures to extort. In truth, my dear lord, I think the time is come when a new system and new arrangement of connexion between the two kingdoms must be settled to the mutual satisfac-

tion and the reciprocal interests of both. Let us unite our endeavours in so good a work. I cannot conclude without expression to your lordship, how anxious I shall be to hear from you. I have the honour, &c. &c.

“ ROCKINGHAM.

“ Grosvenor Square, Tuesday, P.M.

Five o’Clock, April 9, 1782.”

“ I write in a great hurry, as I expect Col. Fitzpatrick to call for the letter every moment. He sets out from hence.”

The letter from Fox contains all that ingenuous frankness and that candid simplicity which so eminently marked his character. It was as follows:

MY DEAR LORD,

“ If I had occasion to write to you a month ago, I should have written with great confidence that you would believe me perfectly sincere, and would receive any thing that came from me, with the partiality of an old acquaintance, and one who acted upon the same political principles. I hope you will now consider me in the same light but I own I write with much more diffidence, as I am much more sure of your kindness to me, personally, than of your inclination to listen with favour to any thing that comes from a secretary of state. The principal business of this letter is to inform you that the Duke of Portland is appointed Lord

Lieutenant of Ireland, and Colonel Fitzpatrick, his secretary. And when I have said this, I need not add, that I feel myself in every private as well as public account, most peculiarly interested in the success of their administration. That their persons and characters are not disagreeable to your lordship, I may venture to assure myself, without being too sanguine, and think myself equally certain, that there are not in the world two men whose general way of thinking upon political subjects, is more exactly consonant to your own. It is not therefore too much to desire and hope, that you will at least look upon the administration of such men, with rather a more favourable eye, and incline to trust them, rather more than you could do most of those who have been their predecessors. Why should not the complete change of system, that has happened in this country have the same effect there that it has here? and why should not those who used to compose the opposition in Ireland, become the principal supporters of the new administration there; on the very grounds on which they opposed the old one? In short, why should not the whigs (I mean in principle, not in name) unite in every part of the empire to establish their principles so firmly that no future faction shall be able to destroy them. With regard to the particular points between the two countries, I am really not yet master of them sufficiently to discuss them, but I can say in general, that the new ministry have no

other, wish than to settle them in the way that may be most for the real advantage of both countries, whose interests cannot be distinct *. This is very general, indeed, and if this language came from persons whose principles were less known to you I should not expect you to consider it as any thing but mere words; as it comes from those of whom I know your good opinion, I trust it will pass for something more. All we desire is favourable construction, and assistance as far as is compatible with your principles; for to endeavour to persuade men to disgrace themselves (even were it practicable, as in this instance I know it is not) is very far from being part of the system of the ministry. The particular time of year at which this change happens is productive of many great inconveniences, especially as it will be very difficult for the Duke of Portland to be at Dublin before your parliament meets; but I cannot help hoping that all reasonable men will concur in removing some of these difficulties and that a short adjournment will not be denied if asked. I do not throw out this as knowing from any authority that it will be proposed, but as an idea that suggests itself to me, and in order to shew that I wish to talk with you and consult with you in the same frank manner, in which I should have done before I was in this situation,

* This explicit admission of the principle upon which the new ministry meant to proceed, was a great cause of its acceptance by all parties in Ireland.

so very new to me. I have been so used to think ill of all the ministers whom I did know, and to suspect those whom I did not, that when I am obliged to call myself a minister, I feel as if I had put myself into a very suspicious character; but I do assure you I am the very same man, in all respects, that I was when you knew me, and honoured me with some share in your esteem; that I maintain the same opinions and act with the same people. I beg your pardon for troubling you with so long a letter; but the great desire I feel in common with my friends, that we should retain your good opinion, must make my apology.

“ Pray make my best compliments to Mr. Grattan, and tell him, that the Duke of Portland, and Fitzpatrick, are thoroughly impressed with the consequence of his approbation, and will do all they can to deserve it: I do most sincerely hope that he may hit upon some line that may be drawn, honourably and advantageously for both countries, and that, when that is done, he will shew the world that there may be a government in Ireland, of which he is not ashamed to make a part. That country can never prosper, where what should be the ambition of men of honour, is considered as a disgrace *. I must beg pardon again for the unconscionable length of this letter. I do assure you, my dear lord, that there is no

* A noble maxim; and worthy the constant recollection of all men called upon to act a part in the councils of any nation.

50 *Enthusiastic hopes of the Irish.*

one who more values your esteem, or is more solicitous for the continuance of it, than

“ Your very obedient humble servant,

C. J. Fox.”

“ *Grafton Street,
April 4, 1782.*”

It may easily be supposed that the patriotic party in Ireland, and with them the people, of Ireland, were elevated with the most sanguine hopes of accomplishing their long wished for end, under the auspices of a ministry so constituted, and it may be equally supposed that with such dispositions towards the welfare of Ireland, on the part of the administration, no unnecessary delays would take place in conferring whatever boon was meant to be bestowed. On the 14th of April, the Duke of Portland arrived in Dublin, and immediately took upon himself the government of Ireland. He was received with excessive demonstrations of joy. When the parliament met, on the 16th of April, the galleries and bar of the house of commons were crowded, and expectation was raised to enthusiasm. As soon as the speaker had taken the chair, Mr. J. H. Hutchinson, his majesty's principal secretary of state, rose, and announced that he was charged by the lord lieutenant, to communicate a message to the house. The purport of this message was to recommend to the house, to take into its con-

sideration the discontents and jealousies prevailing in the country, with a view to their final adjustment. After the message was read, he mentioned Mr. Grattan, in terms of the highest respect, and said, he must ever live in the hearts of his countrymen; that the present age and posterity would be indebted to him, for the greatest of all obligations, and would, but he hoped at a great distance of time, inscribe on his tomb that *he had redeemed the liberties of his country.*

Mr. George Ponsonby, moved "That a dutiful and loyal address should be presented to his majesty, thanking him for his gracious message, and assuring him, that his faithful commons, would immediately proceed upon the great object he had recommended to their consideration."

Mr. Grattan rose to move an amendment; and prefaced his motion with the following masterly and eloquent harangue, whose insertion here will amply repay perusal, and help to diversify the sometimes barren details of history, with the most brilliant effusions of genius.—

"MR. SPEAKER,

"I shall state my reasons for changing the form, and enlarging the substance of the address proposed by the right honourable gentleman, and hope to induce the house rather to declare that they had considered the cause of jealousy, and that they were contained in my original motion for a declaration of rights, which I shall now move as an

32 *Progress of Ireland in her struggle for liberty.*

amendment. I have thrown the declaration of rights into the form of an humble address to the throne; and have added other matter that calls for redress. I have done this in a manner which I conceive respectful to the king, reconciling to the pride of England, and with all due tenacity of the rights and majesty of the Irish nation; and if I sink under this great argument, let my infirmity be attributed to any cause, rather than a want of zeal in your service—I have troubled you so often on the subject of your rights, that I have nothing to add; but am rather to admire by what miraculous means and steady virtue, the people of Ireland, have proceeded, until the faculty of the nation, is now bound up to the great act of her own redemption. I am not very old, and yet I remember Ireland a child; I have followed her growth with anxious wishes, and beheld with astonishment the rapidity of her progress, from injuries to arms—from arms to liberty. I have seen her mind enlarged, her maxims open, and a new order of days burst in upon her. You are not now afraid of the French, nor afraid of the English, nor afraid of one another. You are no longer an insolvent gentry, without privilege, except to tread upon a crest fallen constituency, nor a constituency without privilege, except to tread upon the catholic body; you are now a united people, a nation manifesting itself to Europe in signal instances of glory. Turn to the rest of Europe, and you will find the ancient

spirit has every where expired; Sweden has lost her liberty; England is declining; the other nations support their consequence by mercenary armies, or the remembrance of a mighty name; but you are the only people that have recovered your constitution—recovered it by steady virtue—you have departed from the example of other nations, and have become an example to them. You not only excel modern Europe, but you excel what she can boast of old. Liberty, in former times, was recovered by the quick feelings and rapid impulse of the populace, excited by some strong object presented to the senses. Such an object was the daughter of Virginius, sacrificed to virtue; such the seven bishops, whose meagre and haggard looks expressed the rigour of their sufferings; but no history can produce an instance of men, like you, musing for years upon oppression, and then, upon a determination of right, RESCUING THE LAND.

“The supporters of liberty, in the reign of Charles I. mixed their sentiments of constitution with principles of gloomy bigotry; but you have sought liberty on her own principles; you see the delegates of the North advocates for the catholics of the South; the presbytery of Banger mixing the milk of humanity with the benignity of the gospel—as christians tolerant—as Irishmen united,

“This house, agreeing with the desires of the nation, relaxed the penal code, and by so doing, got more than it gave; you found advantages

from generosity, and grew rich in the very act of your bounty; it was not merely an act of bounty to the catholics; it was an act of bounty to yourselves; you hardly had given them privileges, when you felt your own, and magnified your liberty, by enlarging the sphere of its action: you did not give away your own power:—No—you formed an alliance with catholic power, and found in that alliance a new strength and a new freedom. Fortunately for us England did not take the lead; her minister did not take the lead in the restoration of our rights; had England, in the first instance, ceded, you would have sunk under the weight of the obligation, and given back the acquisition with a sheepish gratitude; but the virtue, the pride of the people, was our resource, and it is right that the people should have a lofty conception of themselves. It was necessary that Ireland should be her own redeemer to form her mind as well as her constitution, and erect in her soul a vast image of herself; and a lofty sense of her own exaltation; other nations have trophies and records to elevate the human mind; those outward and visible signs of glory, those monuments of their heroic ancestors, such as were wont to animate the ancient Greeks and Romans, and rouse them in their country's cause; but you had nothing to call forth the greatness of the land, except injuries, and it is astonishing that you should have preserved your pride; but more astonishing that you should proceed with a temper seldom found

Every man concurred to produce that exaltation. 55

amongst the injured, and success never but with the virtuous; which not only elevates you above our own level, but makes you equal to those nations, modern and ancient, whose histories you are accustomed to admire, *and among whom you are now to be recorded.* You have no trophies; but the liberty you transmit to your posterity is more than trophy. I dwell the more on this part of the subject, because I hold it necessary to pour into the public mind a considerable portion of pride, acting up to a good national character founded on a great transaction. What sets one nation above another, but the soul that dwells therein? *that ætherial fire:* for it is of no avail, that the arm be strong if the soul be not great. The armies of England were most numerous under her late administration; but the English soul which should have inspired these armies, was gone. What signifies it, that three hundred men in the house of commons—what signifies it that one hundred in the house of Peers, assert their country's cause, if unsupported by the people; nor was this act of your redemption confined to any body of men; all have had a share in it; there is not a man that watches his fire-lock this night—there is not a grand jury—there is not an association, there is not a corps of volunteers, there is not a meeting of their delegates, that is not a party to this acquisition, and pledged to support it to the last drop of his blood. It seems as if the subjects of Ireland had met at the altar,

and communicated a national sacrament. Juries, cities, counties, commoners, nobles, volunteers, gradations, religions, a solid league, a rapid fire.

“Gentlemen will perceive I allude to the transaction at Dungannon; not long ago that meeting was considered as a very alarming measure: but I thought otherwise—I approved of it, and considered it *a great original transaction*, and like all original measures, it was a matter of surprize until it became matter of admiration. What more surprising or less within the ordinary course of things, than the convention parliament; what more extraordinary transaction than the attainment of Magna Charta? It was not attained in parliament, but by the *Barons in the field*. Great measures, such as the meeting of the English at Runnymede, the meeting of the Irish at Dungannon, are original transactions, not following from precedent, but containing in themselves both principle and precedent. The revolution had no precedent, the christian religion had no precedent, the apostles had no precedent.

“Did this meeting found itself on the constitution? yes; the constitution gives every elector a share in it; this forms a constitutional public. To preserve this share, the electors, must meet, must confer, must associate; for communities cannot exist as individuals. Was the community called upon to confer? yes; all the great constitutional questions had been lost; and the public cause, desperate in parliament, fell into the hands

of the nation. Had the late Irish minister, been less victorious here, he had not called upon all the nation to oppose him. Did the resolutions of this meeting tend to preserve the constitution? yes; the meeting resolves that the claim of the British parliament to bind Ireland is illegal; is there any man on earth who will deny this position? For what are the volunteers associated, but for the preservation of the laws: and what is the claim of the British parliament but a subversion to all law. The meeting resolves, that the powers of the councils to smother and adulterate your laws, is a grievance; that is, they support your privilege, invaded by those powers; they support you if you are tenacious of your privileges; if not, they support parliament, parliament against you; *the rights of parliament* against the *temporary trustee that would relinquish them*. The meeting reprobates a perpetual mutiny bill; so do we all; the meeting protests against a dependant judicature, an independent army, against a legislative privy council, and a foreign parliament; a monstrous combination this; and not a constitution; something which supersedes you and your rights; and therefore these men, *the good men* at Dungannon, have acted for you, and have felt for you, and your privileges; and accordingly you have very wisely acceded to their resolutions, and put the Irish parliament at the head of this meeting and of this armament; and made their determination the great act; incontrovertible right, and unalter-

able purpose of the nation. Let other nations basely suppose that the people were made for government; we assert that government was made for the people; great and august as they are, they do but perform their periodical revolutions; even the crown, that great luminary, whose brightness they all reflect, receives his cheering fire from the flame of the constitution; and therefore we may seek the sentiments of public meeting; and when we speak, let us speak with effect; let us speak to the king, as to a man who has feelings like ourselves, and like ourselves will speak the claims of liberty.

“ You did not expect some time ago it would come to this; you did little imagine that those men, whom some of you laughed at, parading the streets at first in awkward squads, who were the scoff of saucy affectation, should have proved the saviours of their country; should proceed with such moderation as to be dreadful only to the enemies of their country, and of their country's constitution; would have formed themselves to the solidity of strength and the eminence of virtue, so as to have proceeded to the height of things! wonderful propriety of conduct, there must have been to have preserved those associations; no license, no turbulence, no eccentricity; infallible as the laws of motion, they live in the constitution they preserve, and the spirit they inspire.

“ Let not England fear the Irish volunteers; if she wishes well to Ireland, she has nothing to

Connexion of Ireland with England defined. 59

fear from her strength: the volunteers of Ireland would die in support of England. This nation is connected with England not by *allegiance* only, but *liberty*; the crown is one great point of union, but Magna Charta is a greater: we could get a king any where, but England is the only country from which we could get a constitution; and it is this which makes England your natural connection. Ireland has British privileges, and is by them connected with Britain; both countries are united in liberty. This island was planted by British privileges, as well as by British men; it is a connection, not as Judge Blackstone has falsely said, by conquest, but as I have repeatedly said, by Charter. *Liberty, we say, with England: but at all events liberty.* This is the decided sense of the nation; and the men who endeavour to make our connection with England of quadrate with this fixed passion of the country, contend for the British nation and the *unity of the empire*. We are not growing in our claims, nor immoderate in our demands, nor vehement in our language: We are friends to England on perfect political equality. This house of Parliament knows no superiors; the men of Ireland acknowledge no superiors; they have claimed laws under the authority of the British constitution, and the independence of parliament, under the authority of the laws of God, and man. This right is so interwoven with your nature, that you cannot part with it though you were willing; *you received*

60 *The state of Ireland and America compared.*

it from God, and you cannot yield it to man. Beside, you are too high in pride, character and power, to suffer any nation to claim a right to make your laws: it becomes a question of pride, as well as privilege. What would Europe say of you? What would history say of you? subterfuges, negotiations, and all qualification, or composition, will never do: you cannot negotiate upon fundamental rights. Will the noblemen, the gentlemen, the armed men in Ireland, stoop to any other people? No, never. The nation is committed, she cannot bend; the armed presence of the nation cannot bend; besides, England has brought forward the question, not only by making laws for this kingdom last session, but by enabling his majesty to repeal all the laws which England has made for America. What is this, but that America, differing from Ireland in not having a constitution, in not having a charter, in having less loyalty than Ireland, in having shed much English blood, that America shall be free! And will Ireland sink in a new point, and be the only nation whose liberty England will not acknowledge, and whose affection she cannot subdue? What! has she consented to repeal the Declaratory Act against America, and will she retain the Declaratory Act against Ireland? Is she ready to acknowledge the *independence* of America, and will she not acknowledge the *liberty* of Ireland, the ancient kingdom of Ireland with her charter, and her crown? This indeed were an unconditional

surrender, a surrender to arms. I laugh at those who call the liberty of Ireland the disgrace of England; such a principle would be the disgrace of England; it has already been her destruction.

“ For acknowledging American liberty, England has the plea of necessity; for acknowledging the liberty of Ireland she has the plea of justice; the British nation, if she consults with the head, or with the heart, will not, or cannot refuse our claims: or, were it possible she could refuse, *I will not submit.* If England, (which I cannot believe,) is capable of refusing to repeal the Declaratory Act against Ireland, after she has enabled his majesty to repeal that which was made against America, if she were capable of imposing that distinction, you are incapable of submitting to it; the members of this house cannot submit to it: no nation is so little formed to bear any thing that looks like personal disrespect; many of us have received great honours from the people; can we, can I for instance among others, take the civic crown from my head, and go under the yoke of the British supremacy real or imaginary? Some of the gentlemen of this country are the descendants of kings; can they pay allegiance to their ancestors crown, on the head of every common man in England? I know the gentlemen of this country too well. I know they will not submit. The submission would go against their personal esti-

62 The appellant jurisdiction of the lords vindicated.

mation, as well as against their public right. They would not submit to the insult in the face of Europe. Are colonists to be free, and these royal subjects slaves? Can the nation, in this popular and royal predicament, live cordially with the people of England except on terms of perfect equality?

“ I have done with the supremacy of England, and shall now say a word on the appellant jurisdiction of the house of lords. The Irish house of lords must have their judicature, their birth-right, their unalienable privilege; it is the English constitution, and must be restored. I must hear very strong argument indeed before I can be brought to think that this country is unfit for the British constitution. The supposed incapacity of the lords to decide the question of law is an absurd way of talking. Give them power, and you give them capacity. Cannot they have the opinion of the judges? Do not they correspond with the judges of England? Are not the lay lords of England as unacquainted with the law as the lay lords of Ireland? And is not Ireland capable of having law lords competent to law? The present men are so. Are they not to adjudicate under the public eye? Will they not be ambitious of a chaste discharge of a new power? We can never fear any abuse of it. The lords will exercise with caution a power restored to them by the virtue of their countrymen. Sir, I see in that house

not only sound legal knowledge, but a young and glowing vigour, virtue, and capacity that will assert and exalt the peerage of Ireland.

“ But you are to consider this head in another point of view; you are called on this day to settle the constitution, and if you leave any thing unsettled, if you leave any thing unasserted, you are responsible to England that the settlement shall be final, and therefore it must be radical. England meets your wishes; the new ministry intend to remove every subject of dispute, and throw themselves on the support of the people; then how can we support them if any cause of dispute be left? England has said, state your grievances; and shall we neglect to do so? If we do, and if there shall be general meetings of the people, and of the volunteers, to complain of grievances after what is intended for a final adjustment, would not England think there was something insatiable in the Irish people? Do not you know, that if the legislative supremacy is ceded, the jurisdiction will be the next subject of attack? These are great conjunctures; but I would not have them of the ordinary course of things. I would therefore settle all our questions with England now, and shake hands with her for ever.

“ The question of judicature cannot be distinct from the question of legislature. If the 6th of Geo. I. be partially repealed, the claim of legislation is not ceded. Let us then restore the ap-

pellant jurisdiction; for if that part of the act be not repealed, they leave not only the claim of British supremacy standing against us, but they leave the exercise of the power existing; for the part of that act which vests the judicature in England is an exercise of legislative authority. To cede the latter, therefore, the law must be repealed *in toto*; and if repealed, their original right reverts to the peers, unless you pass an act divesting the peers of their hereditary right. But will the peers submit to this? will the people submit? will you expose administration to the odium of such an act? It cannot be: the illustrious house of peers, composed of persons of the first learning, talents, and abilities; aged men matured in wisdom, aspiring youth animated to glory, never will rest in the fashionable insignificance to which they have been reduced, nor carry about the world, in their noble persons, the evident badge of extinguished honour. No: my lords, you shall have your judicature, you shall sit in the seat of your ancestors, dispensing justice according to the ways of the constitution, in full nobility. England can have no objection to this—she is not ambitious of the trouble of being an arbiter.

“I now come to the third head, the mutiny bill. (Here he condemned it very forcibly, mentioned several reasons against its perpetuity, and what kind of a mutiny bill there should be.) It must,” said he, “be limited in time, in number of men, the articles of war set forth, and the

English declaration of rights in the preamble." He then went to the fourth head, Poyning's law, under which the councils had exercised a power of suppressing and altering bills; both which powers must be extinguished by law.

"I cannot imagine the present ministers of England are inimical to the rights of the Irish nation, when they have been for so many years advocates for the liberties of England and of the colonies. It was the great rule of their opposition; and it is impossible that men who are ready to grant independence to America should oppose the independence of Ireland. If the late ministry lost thirteen colonies during the course of an unsuccessful war, Ireland has, from being a colony, grown into a nation. If ministers have the same powers and the same sentiments in office that they had when in opposition; if they are not afraid of Ireland; if instead of seeking to soothe, they mean to redress it; if they will give us *ample and unqualified redress—the Irish people* then are their *friends*, the *volunteers* are their *army*, and *we* are their *supporters*: we will give them a support very different from the canting of moderation, or that sort of pensioned loyalty whose exertions never went beyond these walls; and let me add, this is a time when a venal parliament and a murmuring country will not serve either England or Ireland. The same sentiment of pensioned loyalty did very well, when every thing was

to be lost, but won't do now when things are to be recovered. You must advance the state now with a loyalty amounting to a passion, such as a bribe don't inspire, but such as British privileges will inspire. But then the redress must be manly, and strictly constitutional—there must be no *shuffling*, no artful delay. I do not say that ministers should take the lead in this business; if they will but concede, if they will not oppose our rights, I will support their administration.

“ I have in my hand the terms; I will read them.

“ 6th of GEO. I. inadmissible—foreign judicature inadmissible—legislative power of the council inadmissible—perpetual mutiny bill inadmissible.

“ Limit and new mould the mutiny bill—extinguish the legislative power of the council—restore the power of the lords—establish the independency of parliament.

“ These are my private terms: I speak to viceroys and kings here in parliament; and these being complied with, I will take a decided part with the present government; consulted if they please, but not *considered*. I don't say that men of character ought not to take places under this administration; these things being done, places become honourable, and men of character ought to take them, to inspire the nation with a confidence in government, by shewing, in the first

offices of trust, the most faithful of servants, and exhibiting in the same person the friend of the people and of his majesty's government.

"When I disclaim office, I should not disclaim responsibility; nor impose a rule for others, but crave indulgence for a singularity; I have no personal knowledge of the lord-lieutenant; I was not acquainted with those about him; nay, if he had sent for me, I am persuaded I should have declined the honour of seeing him. But as I believe his government will be virtuous, so far he shall have my *free support*. Yes, I will, if called upon, go into the cabinet, the people's friend; I will return unplaced and unpensioned—supporting, but not supported."

Mr. Grattan then moved an amendment, which was RESOLVED NEM. CON.

"That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to return his majesty the thanks of this house for his most gracious message to this house, signified by his grace the lord-lieutenant.

"To assure his majesty of our unshaken attachment to his majesty's person and government, and of our lively sense of his paternal care in thus taking the lead to administer content to his majesty's subjects of Ireland.

"That thus encouraged by his royal interposition; we shall beg leave, with all duty and affection, to lay before his majesty the cause of our discontents and jealousies; to assure his majesty that his subjects of Ireland are a FREE PEOPLE; that

the crown of Ireland is an *imperial crown*, inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain, on which connection the interests and happiness of both nations essentially depend; but that the kingdom of Ireland is *a distinct kingdom, with a parliament of her own, the sole legislature thereof*; that there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation, except the *king, lords, and commons of Ireland*; nor any other parliament which hath any authority or power, *of any sort whatsoever*, in this country, save only the parliament of Ireland; to assure his majesty, that we humbly conceive that in this *right* the very essence of our liberties exists; a right which we, *on the part of all the people of Ireland, do claim as their birth-right, and which we cannot yield BUT WITH OUR LIVES.*

“To assure his majesty, that we have seen with concern certain claims advanced by the parliament of Great Britain, in an act, entitled, An act for the better securing the dependancy of Ireland; an act containing matter entirely irreconcilable to the *fundamental* rights of this nation. That we conceive this act, and the claims it advances, to be the great and principal cause of the discontents and jealousies in this kingdom.

“To assure his majesty, that his majesty's commons of Ireland do most sincerely wish that all bills which become law, in Ireland, should receive the approbation of his majesty, under the great seal of Britain; but that yet we do consi-

der the practice of *suppressing our bills* in the councils of Ireland, or *altering the same any where*, to be another *just cause* of discontent and jealousy.

“ To assure his majesty, that an act, entitled an act for the better accommodation of his majesty's forces, being *unlimited in duration*, and defective in other instances, but passed in that shape, from the particular circumstances of the times, is another *just cause* of discontent and jealousy in this kingdom.

“ That we have submitted these the principal causes of the present discontent and jealousy of Ireland, and remain in humble expectation of redress.

“ That we have the greatest reliance on his majesty's wisdom, the most sanguine expectation from his virtuous choice of a chief governor, and great confidence in the wise, auspicious, and constitutional councils, which we see with satisfaction his majesty has adopted.

“ That we have moreover a high sense and veneration of the British character, and do therefore conceive that the *proceedings of this country*, founded as they are in right, and tempered by duty, must have excited the *approbation and esteem* instead of *wounding the pride of the British nation*.

“ And we beg leave to assure his majesty, that we are the more confirmed in this hope, inasmuch as the people of this kingdom have never expressed a desire to *share the freedom of England*,

70 *The amendment disapproved of by government.*

without declaring a determination to *share her fate* likewise, **STANDING AND FALLING WITH THE BRITISH NATION."**

It is not perhaps generally known, that notwithstanding the declared unanimity between the administration and the patriots, these resolutions were objected to at the castle; not perhaps in substance, for the English ministry meant fairly, but some modifications were proposed, which would have diminished their weight and efficacy.

Perhaps the Duke of Portland might have imagined that they would not be acceded by the British cabinet unless in some degree altered. Lord Charlemont had some interviews with his grace upon the subject, and declared that it was the intention of his friends as well as himself to move the resolutions in both houses without any alteration, and that administration might take what part it pleased. In such a state of uncertainty were matters, that when the house of commons met it was not known by Lord Charlemont, or his particular friends, whether the resolutions or address which Mr. Grattan intended to move would be opposed or not; and it was doubtless to his knowledge of these particular circumstances that we may ascribe his strong declaration, in the latter part of his speech, of the terms upon which he would consent to serve the ministry. Without the existence of some such feeling on his part it is impossible not to consider that introduction of himself and his "singularity" as partaking of ego-

tism; but with the admission of these facts, which were doubtless known to his confidential political friends, the whole proceeding becomes intelligible and decorous.

The opposition that was obscurely anticipated from government did not take place. Mr. Grattan's motion was unanimously carried, and a congratulatory address to the Duke of Portland being voted, the house adjourned for three weeks, on the 4th of May, 1782, to allow time for deliberation in the British cabinet upon their claim to a declaration of rights. On May 17, 1782, the great question was brought before the British parliament on the same night in both houses; in the house of commons by Mr. Fox, and in the peers by the Earl of Shelburne. Both these statesmen prefaced their respective motions with speeches of profound legislative wisdom and constitutional knowledge. Their resolutions, which were of course alike, were as follow:

“ First, that it was the opinion of that house, that the act of the 6th of Geo. I. intituled An act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain, ought to be repealed.

“ Second, that it was the opinion of that house, that it was indispensable to the interests and happiness of both kingdoms that the connexion between them should be established by mutual consent upon a solid and permanent footing, and that an humble address should be presented to his

72 *The king accedes to the demands of Ireland.*

majesty, that his majesty would be graciously pleased to take such measures as his majesty, in his royal wisdom, should think most conducive to that important end."

In the commons there was not one dissentient voice; in the peers Lord Loughborough alone spoke against the motions. The Earl of Carlisle spoke in favour of them, and bore an honourable testimony to the zeal and loyalty of the Irish, alluding particularly to the Irish volunteers, who had made a tender of their services when Ireland was threatened with invasion.

On the 27th May the Irish parliament met according to adjournment, when the viceroy, in a speech from the throne, informed them, that the British legislature had concurred in a resolution to remove the causes of their discontents and jealousies, and had united in a desire to gratify every wish expressed in their late addresses to the throne. The speech being read, Mr. Grattan bore testimony to the unconditional manner in which Great Britain had relinquished every right that militated against the independence of Ireland; they had acquired a constitution, and their business was to maintain it. He recommended that they should make an unconditional grant to England of 100,000*l.* for raising 20,000 Irish seamen for the British navy, which were afterwards voted. And he then moved an address, dignified, and worthy of the cause to which it related. Almost every member in the house

Rejoicings upon the completion of this event. 73

successively rose to express his delight at the completion of the important transaction. Only two dissentient voices were heard, (Mr. Walsh and Sir Samuel Bradstreet,) and that was in consequence of the following sentence in the address: "*That there will no longer exist any constitutional question between the two nations that can interrupt their harmony.*" The house divided upon these words, when the numbers were, for the address as it stood 211, against it 2, viz. the gentlemen already mentioned.

Thus was accomplished this great revolution by means, and with a degree of moderation, unparalleled in the history of any other country; accomplished through the instrumentality of an armed force, and yet not an act committed which violated their duty as citizens. Their cause was a sacred and a just one, and accordingly they found many persons of talent, wealth, and distinction willing to co-operate with them; but that cause obtained, the connexion was dissolved when, as we shall afterwards find them, they endeavoured to mix in the affairs of state, and assume a military controul over civil transactions.

The completion of so great and illustrious an event was suitably celebrated, and a day of general thanksgiving was appointed to return thanks to Almighty God for that union, harmony, and cordial affection which had been happily brought about between the two kingdoms. In the fever and tumult of their exultation they did not forget

74 *Fifty thousand pounds voted to Grattan.*

their deliverer, but testified their gratitude in a manner unprecedented. No sooner was the address disposed of in the house of commons, on the day already mentioned, than Mr. Bagnal, after having congratulated his country, Great Britain, his majesty, and his ministers, for having obtained the greatest of all political blessings, called upon the house to confer some signal mark of a great and grateful nation upon their illustrious benefactor Mr. Grattan, whose efforts in procuring them those blessings had been timed and conducted with so much wisdom. After some further eulogium he gave notice, that he should, the next day, move that the house resolve itself into a committee to take into consideration what sum they should grant for the purchasing an estate and building a suitable mansion for their illustrious benefactor Henry Grattan, Esq. and his heirs for ever, in testimony of their gratitude for the unequalled service he had done for the kingdom of Ireland. The sum was finally fixed at 50,000*l.* in the committee, which resolution the house unanimously agreed to, and resolved that an address should be presented to the lord lieutenant to lay before his majesty the humble desire of that house that he would direct such sum so to be laid out, in testimony of the gratitude of the nation for Mr. Grattan's eminent and unequalled services, and that the house would make good the same.

Before we dismiss this subject it will be but

justice to the character of the illustrious patriot, who is still living, to record a circumstance connected with this vote, which is not generally known, and for which we are indebted to that valuable and most interesting work, *Hardy's Life of Charlemont*. There is the following paragraph in a letter from that nobleman to his friend Dr. Halliday, dated Dublin, Aug. 11, 1782.

“ ——— Respecting the grant, I know with certainty that Grattan, though he felt himself flattered with the *intention*, looked upon the act with the deepest concern, and did all in his power to deprecate it. As it was found impossible to defeat the design, all his friends, and I among others, were employed to lessen the sum. It was accordingly decreased by one half, and that principally by his positive declaration, through us, that if the whole was insisted on he would refuse all but a few hundreds, which he would retain as an honourable mark of the goodness of his country. By some, who look only into themselves for information concerning human nature, this conduct will probably be construed into hypocrisy. To such the excellence and pre-eminency of virtue and the character of Grattan are as invisible and as incomprehensible as the brightness of the sun to a man born blind.”

We are very far from suspecting the motives of Mr. Grattan, or doubting the exalted impulses under which he acted in achieving the deliverance

of his country; yet, in the severity of truth, we must say, that he would have acted a nobler part, he would have pursued a course that might have defied suspicion and dared calumny, had he rejected every species of pecuniary recompence. It tarnished the lustre of a glorious event; it became assimilated too much with the spirit of mercantile dealing. What more exalted reward can a *real* patriot wish or deserve than the success of his measures, and the consequent happiness and applause of his countrymen. View it as we will, there is something ignoble in the thought of rewarding a man who saves his country as you would reward one who does you any friendly office. It differs only in degree, not in principle; it is the same whether you give 50,000*l.* or half a crown. The transaction wears the same mercenary stamp upon it, and seems to degrade the elevated consciousness of a great mind acting nobly, and from the influence of steady definite conceptions, to the selfish feelings of an inferior being acting from sudden and dubious impulse. Surely an ancient patriot—a Greek or Roman—a Leonidas or a Cato—would have spurned at the idea of pecuniary remuneration; but they would have accepted the civic crown—insignificant in value, rich in representing the gratitude and admiration of a nation. Again, we deprecate any deduction being made from these sentiments, as being individually applicable to Henry Grattan, a name

which we never hope to pronounce but with respect and veneration. They apply to the general principle adopted in modern times of rewarding great moral excellence by that which equally rewards the minor virtues, and sometimes vice. Nor do we conceive that these reasonings apply to the display of eminent military talents. The toils and dangers of a soldier's life may be balanced by rewards that secure his family from the penury that his death in his country's service may entail upon them; but he who fights no war, except the nobler one of civil strife within the senate's walls, who incurs no hazards, braves no dangers, sickens in no pestilential climate, nor destroys his frame in severity of toil, seems to be more adequately rewarded by success and the inward satisfaction that accompanies success. To return, however, to Ireland and her concerns.

The general happiness diffused by the accomplishment of all her wishes was but short lived. The clouds began to gather. Two or three gentlemen, at the head of whom was Flood, who, before the address was moved, had been not only asked but solicited to give their opinion as to any omission or addition if necessary, and then made no objection, now declared that nothing was done, and that any measure short of an entire renunciation on the part of England to bind this country by English laws would be invalid and inefficient. A simple repeal would leave Ireland pre-

cisely where she was *. That without some positive renunciation of the right to legislate internally and externally on the part of Great Britain, their work would be but half done, and Ireland might again be enslaved by the first corrupt minister who should choose to avail himself of the unsuspecting and too liberal conduct of Ireland. These doctrines gained many proselytes out of doors; within the walls of parliament almost all were unanimously content with the repeal. Legal security was strongly urged by the discontented; but the idea of one kingdom binding another as by bond and warrant was laughed at; and it was urged, that if England, after formally repealing a statute which solemnly declared her right to make laws for this country, determined to resume that right, a renunciation would stand as little in the way of such perfidious hostility as any other declaration whatever. If the faith of kindred nations was not to be relied upon, what else was to be resorted to? Open war could alone terminate such conflicting pretensions; nor could Ireland expect that England would so far prostrate itself as in a subdued and grovelling tone to declare itself an usurper. Mr. Grattan, in one of the debates which the agitation of this question produced, emphatically declared, "the nation that

* It is impossible not to consider this objection started by Flood as an unworthy attempt to obscure the brilliancy of a measure which had originated and been completed by his rival.

insists on the humiliation of another is a foolish nation." The contest was fiercely fought, however, in the commons, and it was ended at length by a division of the house on Mr. Flood's motion on the 19th of July, 1782, for leave to bring in the heads of a bill for declaring the sole and exclusive right of the Irish parliament to make laws in all cases whatsoever, internal and external, for the kingdom of Ireland. This motion was negatived, there being only six in the minority.

Whatever blessings England or Ireland might anticipate from the whig administration which now ruled, or whatever blessings were likely to result, they all vanished by the sudden death of the Marquis of Rockingham, the amiable and virtuous leader of that party. This took place on the 1st July, 1782, and it is well known, as one of the consequences of that event, that Mr. Fox and his friends threw up their situations a few days after. In the new arrangements of Lord Shelburne's administration, which was formed on the 13th July, Lord Temple (the late Marquis of Buckingham) was fixed upon to succeed the Duke of Portland in the vicegerency of Ireland.

Meanwhile the volunteers, justly proud of their own exertions, and conscious of the power they held in their hand—a power formidable in producing good, and which might become equally formidable in producing evil—proceeded to take proper measures for declaring and testifying their opinion upon the transactions we have just re-

corded. Their body was much divided by the question of simple repeal and declaratory enactment. The insidious doubts and suspicions of Flood had infected the minds of many, and they began to think of prosecuting the career they had commenced till they should accomplish the humiliation of England. Vain and foolish hope! entertained only by those who had probably far different objects in view. For a while, however, the moderate and sensible party prevailed, and a resolution was unanimously carried in favour of the simple repeal. At another meeting an address to his majesty was determined on, to express the opinion of 306 companies of volunteers in favour of the simple repeal. It passed unanimously, and with loud applause. Captain Pollock then moved an address to the Duke of Portland, which was also carried unanimously; as was also an address to Lord Charlemont, appointing him general of the volunteers of Ulster. An address to Mr. Grattan was next moved, expressing the highest satisfaction at the vote of 50,000l. But this unanimity was soon disturbed by the dissatisfaction of two corps in the town of Belfast, which had been represented at Dungannon. Their delegates were vilified and traduced in the newspapers, and even Mr. Grattan—such is popular favour!—became an object of virulent and malignant abuse. The Belfast review was approaching, and the dissatisfied resolved to make a stand. Every art was employed to increase the number

of discontented. Thousands of anonymous papers were distributed of the most inflammatory description. Every man who bore a musket became a legislator; the duty of the soldier sunk before the glories of the patriot; Ireland was to be saved by them, and they were to pronounce the terms of her salvation. Unexpected success had made them proud, pride had made them factious, and faction had made them foolish. They tarnished the lustre of their civic crown by endeavouring to adorn it with the meretricious ornaments of sedition. The delegates assembled on the 3d August. An address was moved to Lord Charlemont, in which was inserted a clause expressive of satisfaction with the simple repeal. A debate upon that clause ensued, and after eleven hours of legislative mockery it was rejected by a majority of two. Thus altered, it passed unanimously. This was a short triumph to the designing few who had planned it; those few who, bred in the corruption of court influence, wished to bring that ministry into discredit which disdained to act upon so unconstitutional a basis.

CHAP. III.

Administration of Lord Temple—Institution of the order of St. Patrick—Intended establishment of the Genesee colony—Lord Temple recalled, and succeeded by the Earl of Northington—The volunteers become clamorous for parliamentary reform—The conduct of Flood on this occasion—Appointed one of the committees to receive plans—Proceedings of the convention—Flood submits his own plan, which is finally adopted—Moves for leave to bring in a bill pursuant to that plan—Indignation of the house, who consider it as originating with an armed body—The bill rejected.

THE repeal of the 6th Geo. I. was the Magna Charta of Ireland. It gave them, substantially, freedom; it placed the sources of liberty in their own hands, redeemed them from the tyranny of a foreign power, and secured to them a bulwark against any subsequent attempts to re-assert that power. When we consider the magnitude and importance of the acquisition it is impossible not to admire the mode in which it was obtained; it is impossible not to feel astonishment in contemplating so great an event brought about by the instrumentality of an armed force, and yet the

sacred cause unpolluted by one drop of human blood. It really forms a phenomenon in the history of nations and of mankind.

Lord Temple arrived in Ireland on the 15th September, 1782, and was received with very general expressions of joy. His administration was but a short one, though during the period, brief as it was, he set himself earnestly to work to correct multiplied abuses, which had crept into the management of public affairs. His brother (the present Lord Grenville) accompanied him as secretary. Like his father, (Mr. George Grenville,) Lord Temple took business as a pleasure he was to enjoy, and his application was "undissipated and unwearied." Such assiduity was never before, and we believe never since, witnessed at the castle. Nor was he at this time more than 50 years of age. He was not awed either by situation or connexion. There was not a board throughout Ireland which did not tremble. The dismay was terrible. Clerks, secretaries, and treasurers fled in all quarters. Some chiefs of particular departments did not indeed fly, but menaced or muttered eternal vengeance against Lord Temple; they shuddered to behold the ancient abodes of peculation on the point of being exposed to the eye of day. Lord Temple, however, went on fearless in the execution of his wise purpose; and it is only to be regretted that his stay was too short to render it likely his plan of reformation could be permanently operative.

84 *The formation of the coalition ministry.*

The Irish parliament did not sit during the administration of Lord Temple, consequently there remains little to record.

In the English commons Colonel Fitzpatrick called the attention of Government, on the 19th December, 1782, to a circumstance which had given much alarm to the people of Ireland; this was the decision of an Irish cause, in the English court of king's bench, notwithstanding the declaration of Irish independence had put an end to all such appeals. It was explained, however, by Mr. Secretary Townshend to have arisen from this circumstance, that the cause had been in the court for eighteen months, and that consequently the judges were bound to decide upon it. There was the most sincere desire on the part of England to do any thing that might tend to remove all doubts in Ireland as to the validity of the liberty she had acquired. On the 21d January, 1783, Mr. Secretary Townshend moved and carried the motion unanimously, for leave to bring in a bill "for removing and preventing all doubts which have arisen or may arise concerning the exclusive rights of the parliament and courts of Ireland in matters of legislation and judicature, and for preventing any writ of error, or appeal, from any of his majesty's courts in that kingdom from being received, read, or adjudged in any of his majesty's courts in the kingdom of Great Britain." In about a month after this the famous coalition ministry, in which Fox and Lord North joined their forces, was formed, and the consequence

was, that Lord Temple resigned his post of viceroy to the Earl of Northington.

Previously to quitting the subject of Lord Temple's administration, however, two events must be recorded. One is, the institution of the *Order of St. Patrick*. This was done to gratify the Irish by a mark of national consequence. The king was always to be sovereign of this new order of knighthood, the viceroy officiating grand master, and the Archbishop of Dublin chancellor. Among the knights were Prince Edward, (now Duke of Kent,) the Duke of Leinster, the Earl of Courtown, and the Earl of Charlemont. On the 11th of March they were invested at the castle, and on the 17th, the festival of their tutelar saint, the ceremony of installation was magnificently performed.

The other transaction alluded to, though it failed, was one of peculiar importance. There had arisen, in the little republic of Geneva, disputes and dissensions between the aristocratic and the democratic parties, in which the former were ultimately successful. The latter, zealous for liberty, disdained to live in a country which they no longer considered as free, and resolved, in consequence, to emigrate to some chosen spot, where tyranny was to be unknown. Ireland, young in her acquisition of freedom, was the country they fixed upon, and six commissioners * were appointed

* Messrs. G. Ringler, E. Clavier, Du Roverny, E. Gase, Grénus, and Divernois,

86 *Attempt to establish a Genevese Colony.*

to repair thither for the purpose of obtaining from the government permission and protection in establishing a Genevese colony in Ireland. They received the greatest personal attention from the people in general on their arrival, for they were regarded as self-exiled martyrs to the cause of freedom, a cause yet fresh and youthful in the remembrance of Ireland. The Leinster volunteers enrolled several of them as members of their association. Nor was government less zealous to testify its approbation of their mission. An asylum was promptly offered to them in Ireland; and the approbation of the king and privy council at home being obtained, a place for their residence was fixed upon at Passage, near the confluence of the rivers Suire and Barrow, in the county of Waterford. A warrant was issued by the lord-lieutenant to certain noblemen and gentlemen, empowering them to make all necessary arrangements for transporting these colonists into Ireland, and for building a town for them, to be called New Geneva. Fifty thousand pounds were appropriated for this purpose, and the happiest results were anticipated from a colony of moral, virtuous, and industrious artizans, who would not only bring with them the example of their own regulated behaviour, but also introduce a variety of useful and profitable manufactures. A plan of naturalization was sketched, by which was to be granted to them the establishment of magistrates, councils, or assemblies, with power of re-

gulating their internal concerns in such a manner as should be most agreeable to the laws under which they lived happily in their own country; provided, however, that these municipal regulations in no way contravened the established laws of the country that received them. A charter was to be granted them, and it was proposed to establish seminaries for instruction similar to those so long known in Geneva, by which it was hoped that many young persons of rank and fortune would resort to the new republic from all parts of Europe for education. But though public expectation was highly raised, the whole scheme proved abortive from the intemperate demands of the recusants. They insisted, as preliminary terms, that they should be represented in parliament, and governed by their own laws. Whatever inclination might have been felt to permit them, as subjects of the same realm, to be represented in the legislature, it was manifestly inconsistent, not only with general policy, but with their first requisition, to allow them the privilege of being governed by laws enacted by themselves. The consequence was, that the scheme was abandoned, a few only making a trial of it upon individual responsibility, but soon relinquishing it from conviction of its inefficacy.

Lord Temple did not quit the government till the 3d of June, 1783, when he was escorted to the water-side by the volunteers of Dublin, as the only testimonial which it was in their power

88 *The Earl of Northington appointed viceroy.*

power to give of their gratitude, affection, and reverence. He was succeeded by the Earl of Northington, son of Lord Chancellor Northington, a nobleman extremely well known and much talked of in his day. His grandfather was Anthony Henley, a member of some of King William and Queen Anne's parliaments, and particularly distinguished as the intimate companion of Swift for several years, especially during Swift's connexion with the Whigs. Garth also dedicated his Dispensary to him.

Soon after the arrival of Lord Northington the nation was alarmed with the rumours of an intended dissolution of parliament; nor was it merely rumour, for the event actually took place on the 15th of July, 1783. The volunteers now began to act a part which detached from them all those respectable and eminent individuals who had hitherto acted with them from a conviction that their object was legitimate and their means constitutional. Assuming to themselves the merit of having done all that had been accomplished, and denying any participation to their representatives, they began to talk freely of the impolicy of laying down their arms while there remained any thing yet to obtain; and that something yet to be obtained they now found out to be a reform in parliament; a favourite theme for declamation, and a convenient pretext for accomplishing objects of a very different character.

In the pursuit of this new duty they were

invigorated by the example of England. Several counties had petitioned parliament, and Mr. Pitt, rising into notice, with all the weight of his father's fame attached to him, appeared, with other popular members, as the champion of the people in this favourite project. How he apostatised from it afterwards need not be told; nor will we stop to inquire whether his dereliction arose from inconsistency or from the deliberate conviction of a mind somewhat more matured, that the evil was partly visionary, and remediable only by incurring the risk of much greater ones.

The Irish volunteers acted with the usual precipitancy of men who engage in undertakings beyond their strength. Unable to measure the difficulty or to devise rational means for overcoming it, they strove, by impetuous force or insidious fraud, to approach their point. On the 1st of July, 1783, a meeting of delegates from forty-five companies of the province of Ulster assembled at Lisburne, in pursuance of a public requisition, when it was resolved unanimously, "That a general meeting of the volunteer delegates of the province of Ulster, on the subject of a more equal representation of the people in parliament, should be held at Dungannon on the 8th day of September." A great number of addresses, resolutions, letters, and protests were issued, connected with the general question of parliamentary reform.

The representation in Ireland, it must be ad-

mitted, was in a state which rendered some amelioration of it almost essential to the welfare of the country. The commons consisted of 300 members. Of these, 64 were sent by the counties, and the remainder by cities and boroughs. Admitting that the 64 from the counties were, to a certain degree, under the controul of the people, and supposing that as many more might, by extraordinary exertions, be sent from the cities and boroughs, these would make only 128 that were fairly, freely and fully chosen by the people. The remaining 172 were sent by close boroughs, which were the property of a few wealthy lords and commoners; so that the majority of the house of commons might be regarded as aristocratic rather than as popular representatives. As a slight drawback to this estimate, we may suppose that a few patriotic proprietors of boroughs (such as Lord Charlemont, for example, who first introduced Mr. Grattan into parliament,) employed their privilege for the benefit of their country by sending such men to parliament as would watch over its interests and defend its rights*.

Meanwhile the 8th of September arrived, and the delegates of 272 companies assembled at Dungannon. They published resolutions concerning the representation of the people in par-

* Of the present 100 members returned to the imperial parliament it deserves to be recorded, that 13 are individuals who never visited Ireland. They must be excellently adapted to represent her interests.

liament, and elected five persons to represent each county in a national convention, which they appointed to be held in Dublin on the 10th of the following November, to which they entreated the volunteers of the other provinces to send likewise their delegates. The defects of which they complained in the national representation were, that of 300 members, composing the house of commons, only 74 were returned by the free election of the people, since 53 peers nominated 123 members, and influenced the choosing of 10; and 52 commoners nominated 91, and influenced the choice of 3.

The committee of correspondence applied to Lord Charlemont * for his sentiments in general upon the question of parliamentary reform, and requesting him to point out *such specific mode of reform*, and the most eligible steps leading to it, as came up to his lordship's ideas. Lord Charlemont wrote a temperate reply to this application, in which he advised, that at the Dungannon meeting the measure alone should be recommended without specifying any mode whatsoever, which last consideration ought, according to his judgment, to be left *entirely*, to the *mature deliberation of parliament*, and particularly of those representatives whom they were about to choose.

The government, meanwhile, beheld with anxi-

* The reader will find, in Hardy's Life of this nobleman, a mass of curious and authentic information respecting this most important period of Irish history.

ous fears the proceedings of these military reformers. It was difficult to determine how they should be repressed or how guided. The 10th of November was approaching, and it was necessary they should at least decide upon some certain course of conduct according to what might probably be anticipated of the proceedings of that day. Nothing, however, was determined on. The new parliament met on the 14th October, and Edmund Sexton Pery was unanimously elected speaker of the house of commons. It was judiciously contrived by government that the thanks of the legislature to the volunteers should be moved immediately for their spirited endeavours to provide for the protection of their country, and for their ready and frequent assistance to the civil magistrate in enforcing the due execution of the laws. This prevented any other motion, of a more questionable tendency, being made. On the second day of the session Mr. Gardiner moved a vote of thanks to their late viceroy, Lord Temple. This vote of thanks was opposed only by three individuals, and when it is remembered what were Lord Temple's exertions to correct public abuses, the reader will not be surprized to learn that each of them had been charged as public defaulters or as debtors to the king.

On the 28th October, 1783, Sir Henry Cavendish moved, " That the condition of this country required every practicable retrenchment consistent with the safety thereof, and with the honourable

support of his majesty's government." This brought on a violent debate, in the course of which occurred that celebrated altercation between the two rival orators, Flood and Grattan, which redounds so little to the credit of either, but in which, Mr. Grattan certainly was the aggressor. Mr. Flood moved as an amendment, "that the military establishment, in its present state affords much room for effectual retrenchment." The motion was lost by a majority of 57, in favour of government.

The invitation from the volunteers of Ulster was eagerly embraced, by those of the other provinces, and delegates from all four of them met, according to the previous arrangement, in the Rotunda in Dublin, on the 10th of November, having first assembled at the Royal Exchange, but moving from thence on account of their number and the smallness of the place. Lord Charlemont had been elected their president, and he led the way to the Rotunda, accompanied by a squadron of horse, the delegates following two and two. The convention now sat in form and presented a numerous and truly respectable body of gentlemen. The following interesting account of the singular proceedings, of this singular day is from the animated pen of Mr. Hardy.

"A singular scene was soon displayed, and yet such a scene as any one, who considered the almost unvarying disposition of an assembly of that nature, and the particular object for which

94. *Plans of parliamentary reform engendered.*

it was convened, might justly have expected. From every quarter and from every speculatist, great clerks or no clerks at all, was poured in such a multiplicity of plans of reform*, some of them ingenious, some which bespoke an exercised and rational mind, but, in general, as I have been well assured, so utterly impracticable, 'so rugged and so wild in their attire,' they looked not like 'the offspring of inhabitants of the earth, and yet were on it;' that language would sink in portraying this motley band, of incongruous fancies, of mis-shapen theories, valuable only if inefficient, or execrable, if efficacious. All this daily issued from presumptuous empirics, or the vainly busy minds of some political philanthropists, whom the good breeding alone of their countrymen, permitted to be regarded as not totally out of their senses. The committee shewed a perseverance almost marvellous, but the murky conceits and solemn vanities of such pretenders, would have put even the patience of the man of Uz to flight. At last, after being for several days bewildered in this palpable obscure of politics, and more and more theories flitting round the heads of the unfortunate committee, *that* which must for ever take place on such occasions, took place here. A dictator was appointed, not indeed

* To understand this, it should be remembered that a sub-committee had been formed, whose business it was to receive plans of reform from whatever quarter proceeding.

in name, but in substance. The Bishop of Derry moved, that Mr. Henry Flood, who had not been one of the committee, should be nominated as an assessor, or joint member. And here was displayed the potency of oratorical talents, in such a body of men; and the justice of Lord Bolingbroke's observation, that the house of commons, or in short any assembly partaking of the nature of the house of commons, is like a pack of hounds; they will always follow the man who shews them most game. So rapid and decisive was the superiority which Flood obtained, that without his concurrence, nothing was approved of. The bishop now, as has been often experienced, found himself outdone by his auxiliary. All his hopes of pre-eminence in the convention, and elsewhere, rested in his ill timed support of the elective franchise, as a measure then, and at *once*, to be contended to, the catholics. The grossest adulation would blush to say, that this support arose from superior discernment, or superior benevolence. Yet, when we consider his peculiar volubility, his long residence on the banks of the Arno or the Tiber, and general society there, we may justly conclude that, at any period of our history, *Tros Tyrmuce*, catholic, or protestant electors, or statesmen, would have been objects of the most entire indifference to him. They in truth, were so; and his propositions, as to the catholics, though dignified by his adherents, with the terms of highly philosophical, were resisted by Flood, with that

96 *A plan proposed by Flood and assented to.*

gentleman's usual success. This rejection of the catholics brought forward various plans of reform in favour of the protestants, or electors as they then stood. Flood's angry frown and angry comments exiled them all. Adieu to all the theories, phlegmatic or airy, of the learned and the unlearned! They were no more heard of. At last, Mr. Flood produced his own plan for new modelling the house of commons. It was unanimously adopted by the inferior, and then submitted to the grand committee as it was called. A long debate arose. The difficulties under which the assembly laboured in this great work of legislation, were now apparent. Flood's plan, notwithstanding all his subtle interpretations and comments, was, on sober investigation found not much superior to many which preceded it. Nay, there were some who, like Dangle in the play, thought that the interpreter was the hardest to be understood of any of his coadjutors. But, with all his plan's acknowledged imperfections, it was submitted to as the best that could be patronized, without putting the assembly to the blush, and, indeed, the state itself to the most eminent hazard.

"A short scene was now acted, and, according to the rules of criticism, in perfect unison with the former. Two or three lords and gentlemen, who possessed borough property, declared in the convention, that any proper plan of reform should meet with no obstacle from such possessions remaining in their hands. They would willingly

relinquish them for the benefit of the people. Immediately after those gentlemen, who at that moment of enthusiasm were, I make no doubt, perfectly serious in what they said, and were capable of very generous derelictions, up rose several patriotic personages and professing equal ardor in the public cause, made similar renunciations. Unfortunately, however, *their* pretensions to this invidious species of property, were by no means so unequivocal. Some of those boroughs which they were pleased to call exclusively their own, presented only very debateable ground, and were, in general, known to those gentlemen, merely by the long sufferings which they sustained for even a dubious and transitory interest in them. To abandon such boroughs altogether would at any time, be consummate prudence. To immolate a set of voters, periodically corrupt, or law agents perpetually rapacious, would be most laudable, if a convention or reform had never been heard of. 'Upon such sacrifices, the Gods themselves would' I think, 'throw incense,' could they have really been made. Yet, with no other offerings to lay on the altar of public freedom, than what might justly be termed their own personal embarrassments, and molestations, did those gentlemen rise, one after the other, and, with the most untired gravity nobly bestow on the people, their untenable claims and unsound interests. But, they seemed resolved, on that day, that every proceeding in the con-

vention should be almost ideal, and visionary plans of reform were followed by imaginary proscriptions of family electors.

“ Those shadows having passed over the scene in very solemn and ridiculous order, the eyes of the spectators were at length tired of such mock heroic visions, and all turned towards Lord Charlemont. An enemy to ostentation, and always averse to public speaking, he had hitherto remained silent. But he found it necessary now to say something. ‘ My determination,’ said his lordship, ‘ to sacrifice to the public that borough, which I have ever held in trust for the people, was I thought, sufficiently declared, by my acceptance of a seat at this meeting. That trust I have at all times endeavoured to execute; to the public advantage; and I can assure this assembly that I have never felt so much real satisfaction in the exercise of those powers which, as a trustee for the people, have been confided to me, as I now do in resigning them.’ The convention, and indeed, all his auditory were to the utmost gratified by this declaration, and applauded it as the language of sincerity and true patriotism:— Flood’s plan of reform having now passed the ordeal of the two committees, was finally reported to the convention, where the bishop of Derry*,

* This singular character, who, to his episcopal title, joined that of Earl of Bristol, was the son of Lord Hervey, well known from the sarcastic lines, and still more sarcastic letter which Pope addressed to him. (See Epist. to Dr. Arbuthnot,

again brought forward his proposal in favour of the Catholics, and was supported by several of the delegates. Lord Charlemont and his friends opposed him strongly, and left him on a minority. The point was warmly discussed. These repeated differences did not contribute much to the establishment of any cordial amity between the noble prelate and the earl. The former one day, while the convention was employed on something unimportant, ventured to hint to Lord Charlemont, as they sat for some minutes apart together, "that his conduct was by no means generally approved of," (alluding it is presumed, to the catholic bu-

the character of *Spenser* and the third vol. of Warton's Ed. of Pope, p. 339.) Granger, in his Biog. Hist. vol. II. p. 272, says the Bishop of Derry, was lineally descended from the brother of that William Hervey, whose death Cowley so feelingly laments in his Elegy beginning,

"It was a dismal and a fearful night."

The eccentricities of the Earl of Bristol, are well known: He had talents, but they were showy, not solid, and he had benevolence, but it displayed itself in whim and caprice. Yet he was sometimes consistently correct. His distribution of church livings, among the old and respectable clergy of his diocese, deserves to be remembered to his honor. He was ambitious, and disappointed in his ambition, he became factious. It is said he applied for the bishopric of Durham, and then for the lord lieutenancy of Ireland, both of which were refused him. *Hinc illa lacrymæ*. During the volunteering system, he assumed all the external parade of a military bishop; he might frequently be seen escorted by a body of dragoons, and seemingly proud of the martial splendour, he exhibited. He was, however, hospitable and generous.

siness) "and that he was considered as rather lukewarm in favour of reform." To this suggestion, Lord Charlemont replied, as may be supposed, with some warmth. A short, and somewhat unpleasant conversation took place, not at all necessary now to detail, but in the course of which Lord Charlemont declared, that in the attainment of reform he was determined not to go the length of hazarding the public peace. A wise resolve, which shewed that he contemplated the measure with the eye of a statesman and a patriot.

"After three weeks sitting the labours of the convention seemed to draw towards an end. The commencement of the convention was inauspicious but the conclusion was agitating, beyond any period in its history. It is not to be forgotten that parliament had met, the end of October, and was at this time actually sitting. To the astonishment of the greater part, Flood arose in the convention, about four o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday, Nov. 29, and proposed that he, accompanied by such members of parliament as were then present, should immediately go down to the house of commons, and move for leave to bring in a bill exactly correspondent in every respect to the plan of reform, which he had submitted to, and was approved of by, the convention. To this proposition he added another, "That the convention should not adjourn, till the fate of the motion was ascertained." A more

complete designation and avowal of a deliberative assembly, co-existing with lords and commons, and apparently of co-extensive authority, could scarcely be made. It was, in truth, like bringing up a bill from the bar of one house of parliament, to that of another. Both motions were acceded to. That the gentlemen who adopted Mr. Flood's proposition, did not see its impropriety and imprudence, or, seeing its real complexion, did not abandon it, may be partly attributed to the ascendancy which Flood at this time obtained over most of them, as well as to that extreme ardour which, pursuing a favourite object, overlooks or contemns all obstacles. Flood would not, perhaps, have brought it forward at all, certainly not then, had he not been impelled by particular personal motives. His great ambition was to take the lead in this business of reform; and, as he at that time looked to a seat in the British house of commons, (which he soon after obtained) his views would, as he imagined, be most powerfully aided by his splendid exertions, in the convention, as well as the Irish parliament, and enable him to aspire to superior rank and authority among the reformists in England as well as those in Ireland. The time, however, pressed and he was obliged to go to London, in a very few days. To relinquish the honour of moving the question of reform to any one, he could not think of, and the eagerness of some delegates co-operating with his own personal convenience,

he hurried it into the house of commons. Thus is their a secret history in all public transactions, and that history not always the most brilliant.

"Parliament now became the theatre of popular exertion. Whoever was present in the house of commons, on the night of the 29th Nov. 1783, cannot easily forget what passed there. I do not use any disproportionate language; when I say that the scene was almost terrific. Several of the minority, and all the delegates, who had come from the convention, were in uniform and bore the aspect of stern hostility. On the other hand, administration being supported on this occasion by many independent gentlemen; and having at their head very able men, such as Mr. Yelverton, and Mr. Daly, presented a body of strength not always seen in the ministerial ranks, looked defiance to their opponents, and seemed indeed almost unassailable. They stood, certainly, on most advantageous ground, and that ground given to them by their adversaries. Mr. Flood, flushed with his recent triumphs in another place, and enjoying the lofty situation which his abilities always placed him in, fearlessly led on the attack. Mr. Yelverton *, answered him with great animation, great strength of argument, and concluded with a generous, dignified appeal † to the

* At that time Attorney General.

† "I lament Sir," said he, "for the honour of my countrymen, that they should have chosen this period for introducing innovation, or for exciting discontent. What is the

volunteers whom he applauded for every part of their conduct, the present alone excepted. Some speeches followed in a similar tone, but the minds of men soon became too heated to permit any regular debate whatever. It was uproar, it was clamour, violent menace and furious recrimina-

occasion, that calls forth their displeasure against the constitution, and what is our present situation? Blessed with a free trade, and a free constitution, our peers restored to their rights and to their lawful authority, our judges rendered independent, the manacles fallen from our commons, all foreign controul abolished; we take our rank among nations as a free state: and is this a time to alter that constitution, which has endured so many storms, and risen superiors to all oppression? Will the armed associations, wise as they may be, be able to form a better though they reject this? Before they have for a single session entered into the enjoyment of it, like children they throw away the bauble for which with all the eagerness of an infantine caprice, they have struggled: or, like spendthrifts they would make away with their inheritance before they enter into possession of it. But, I will say to the volunteers, you shall not throw from you the blessings you may possess under your happy constitution: cultivate your own prosperity, and enjoy the fruits of your own virtue, beat your swords into ploughshares, return to your different occupations, leave the business of legislation in those hands where the laws have placed it; and where you have had ample proof it will be used for the advantage of the country. But, Sir, it is in vain on the part of the convention to disclaim their intent of over-awing the parliament: nay, I am told their session is not yet prorogued, and perhaps they may meet on Monday, to reverse the opinion which this house may give this night. Sir, I call upon the house to assert their spirit, and vindicate their rights. I shall call upon them in the words of a great man, '*Expurgisimini aliquando et capessite rem.*' "

104 *Sad state of the representation maintained.*

tion! If ever a popular assembly wore the appearance of a wild and tumultuous ocean, it was on this occasion; at certain, and those very short intervals, there was something like a calm, when the dignity of parliament, the necessity of supporting the constitution and danger of any military assembly, was justly and feelingly expatiated upon. The sad state of the representation, was with equal truth, depicted on the other side *. A denial of volunteer interference and the necessity of amending the representation, whether volunteers existed or not, was, in the first instance, made with very imperfect sincerity, and, in the latter, with genuine candour. To this again succeeded tumult and confusion, mingled with the sad and angry voices of many who, allied to boroughs, railed at the volunteers like slaves, not gentlemen, and pretended to uphold the constitution, whilst they were in truth, appalled at the light

* Flood, in the course of his reply to the attorney general who had called upon him for an explicit avowal of his plan, said, " he was ready to explain it, and refute all exceptions on the ground of reason and argument. As, in this house, votes go by tale, and not by weight; and as the vote of the meanest wretch that ever disgraced the walls of parliament, though representing the most venal borough, tells for as much as the most illustrious character representing the first county in the kingdom, the people wish to correct the ill effects of this by opening the boroughs, and giving them an opportunity of being virtuous." In the course of his speech he denied any volunteer influence, but maintained that the volunteers, though armed, had not forfeited their franchises as citizens.

that now began, as their terror suggested, to pervade their ancient and ambiguous property. But the imprudence of the volunteers was of more service to such men than all their array of servile hostility; on that night at least it proved their best safeguard, and placed them, not within the shadowy uncertain confines of a depopulated borough, where they could find no safety, but under the walls of the constitution itself. The tempest (for towards morning, debate there was almost none) at last ceased; the question was put, and carried, of course, in favour of government, their numbers 159, those of the opposition 77."

Thus far we have borrowed the animated and elegant pen of Mr. Hardy; but we suspect that he is wrong in the account he has given of the division. Both Mr. Plowden, and Mr. Gordon, state the numbers to have been

For receiving the bill 49

Against it 158,

Leaving a majority, in favour of ministers of 109.

No sooner was this triumph obtained, than the attorney general moved the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That it is now become necessary to declare that this house will maintain its just rights and privileges against all encroachments whatsoever."

Ayes 150—Noes 68.

Immediately afterwards, Mr. Conolly made the following motion which was carried unanimously,

“ *Resolved*, That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to declare the perfect satisfaction which we feel in the many blessings we enjoy under his majesty’s most auspicious government, and our present happy constitution; and that at this time we find it peculiarly incumbent upon us, to express our determined resolution to support the same with our lives and fortunes.”—This address was carried to the lords, and immediately agreed to; and thus terminated this memorable question, agitated under the most peculiar circumstances, and conducted with a degree of license and tumult, which only an Irish house of commons could have tolerated.

Let us now return to the convention. The first serious blow which the importance and respectability of the volunteer body received, was from their conduct on this occasion. They accomplished for themselves, and by their own seditious proceedings, what all the artifices, or all the force of Government, would have failed in producing. All the respectable, and sober-minded, and important part of the community immediately segregated from them, and they became the instrument, feeble, but malign, of every demagogue who had audacity and talent to venture upon directing them. Reverting, however, to their situation during the proceedings in parliament upon Flood’s motion. They sat for two hours or more, but receiving no intelligence from Flood, Lord Charles

mont, who suspected what had taken place, and who feared any intemperate conduct on the part of the delegates, prevailed upon them to adjourn till Monday. On the next day, the patriotic earl had a meeting of his particular friends at Charlemont house, who unanimously agreed that the public peace should be the first object of their attention. Many delegates, also, communicated to Lord Charlemont, in the course of the day, that they were prepared to follow him in any measure he should propose. Thus fortified, he took the chair at an early hour on the Monday morning. A sullen, gloomy, and ominous silence for sometime prevailed, at length a delegate arose and inveighed in warm terms against the house of commons. This was precisely what his lordship expected: and he was resolved at all hazards, to put up a stop to it. He called the delegate to order, and said " That one of the wisest usages in parliament was, never to take notice in one house of what was said in another. The observance of such a rule, he then begged particularly to recommend to the convention." This temperate appeal was effectual, though many individuals afterwards attempted to speak. All was not done however. It was necessary to convince the delegates that the original object of their meeting was by no means abandoned, in consequence of what had passed in parliament, and that the great question of parliamentary reform should

be sedulously pursued though in a different way. Without this they would not have been pacified. The following resolutions were therefore proposed and most warmly and unanimously adopted.

“Resolved unanimously, That it is highly necessary for the delegates of counties, cities, and towns, in conjunction with the other freeholders of their several counties, to forward the plan of reform agreed to, by this convention, by convening county meetings, or whatever other constitutional mode they may find most expedient; and that they not only instruct their representatives to support the same in parliament, but also request the members of the several cities, towns, boroughs and manors, within their county to aid in carrying the same into effect.

“Resolved unanimously,—That the necessity of a parliamentary reform is manifest, and we do exhort the nation, by every constitutional effort, to effectuate such reform.”

This in some measure satisfied them; but, as they had been violently aspersed by some members in the house of commons who had gone so far as to impeach their loyalty—not perhaps without just cause, they thought they could not separate without some public declaration of their motives and sentiments. By the influence of some moderate men among them they adopted the dignified mode of an address to the king, expressive of

their loyalty and unalterable attachment to the crown and constitution of the realm, and concluding with these words: "and we implore your majesty that our humble wish to have certain manifest perversions of the parliamentary representation of this kingdom, remedied by the legislature in some reasonable degree, may not be imputed to any spirit of innovation in us, but to a sober and laudable desire to uphold the constitution, to confirm the satisfaction of our fellow subjects, and to perpetuate the cordial union of both kingdoms."

After this address was carried, Lord Charlemont, who was duly aware of the danger of an armed convention sitting any longer in its deliberative capacity, and, at the same time, conscious that it had accomplished all its original purport, finally adjourned it. This was a wise step, and thus ended this celebrated meeting. That it would have been better, had it never assembled, is probable; and yet it gave an opportunity to the parliament of asserting its right and privilege against the factious usurpation of those reformers, which was of the utmost importance in a constitutional point of view. Nor should it be forgotten, among the benefits that counterbalanced the evils of this assembly, that its meeting was the immediate forerunner of the decline of this now ambiguous body. The reader, who may not remember the days of this military convention, will be

110 *Quiet extinction of the volunteer body.*

naturally anxious to inquire what sensation its downfall excited? None. It had previously begun to decay, and its extinction, (though partially kept up for some years afterwards) was viewed with indifference.

CHAP. IV.

Flood goes to England—Mr. Curran makes a motion against a right assumed by the house of lords—Dissolution of the coalition ministry—Pitt appointed prime minister—Lord Northington resigns, and is succeeded by the Duke of Rutland—meetings are held to obtain a reform in parliament—Grand congress of delegates appointed—Vigorous proceedings of government—Both the parliaments of England and Ireland engaged in considering some commercial regulations between the two countries—Mr. Orde's propositions, and debates upon them.

SHORTLY after the settlement of the question of reform in the commons, Flood, the great leader of the opposition, departed for England, where he obtained a seat in the British legislature. After his departure, however, some popular motions were made. Mr. Molyneux proposed an absentee tax, but it was lost by a great majority; and Mr. Brown moved certain resolutions expressive of the miserable state of Ireland, the necessity of retrenchment in the expences, and the evil of an accumulating debt. This was lost too. The next measure that occupied their attention was a motion of Mr. Curran's, on the 16th December,

1783, in consequence of two strong resolutions passed by the house of lords against the practice of the commons tacking to money bills, clauses for the granting of monies for the reward and encouragement of manufactures, arts, and inventions, and for carrying on public works. The lords considered this practice as unconstitutional, and declared their determination of rejecting any future bill of aid and supply to which any such clause, foreign to its main import, should be added. Mr. Curran regarded this as a direct violation of the undoubted right of the commons to originate and frame money bills in any way they thought proper, the lords or the king having the power of only rejecting *in toto*, but not of modifying or altering. The house was but thinly attended, and the motion * was lost.

Great and important ministerial changes took place at this time in England; changes which, in their remote operation, are still felt by this country. The coalition ministry had, in its first formation, the seeds and principle of disunion, and an event now occurred which separated the component parts, never more to reunite. We allude to Mr. Fox's India bill, which, on the 8th December, 1783, passed through the commons by a small

* It was as follows: "That it is the sole and undoubted privilege of the commons of Ireland to originate all bills of supply and grants of public money in such manner and with such clauses as they shall think proper."

majority *; and was, the next day, carried up to the lords. There it met its doom, in consequence of the hostility to it from a certain quarter, where powerful influence was most unconstitutionally exerted. The rumour of the day was, that the king signified to Lord Temple, on the 11th December, in a closet audience, his disapprobation of the bill, and authorised him to declare the same to such persons as he might think fit; that a written note was put into his hands, in which his majesty declared, "that he should deem those who should vote for it not only not his friends, but his enemies; and that if he (Lord Temple) could put this in stronger words, he had full authority to do so." The consequence was, that this was communicated to many, and the bill was lost on a second reading. Meanwhile Mr. Baker, in the house of commons, brought forward a motion on the same day to take into consideration the reports above alluded to; those reports were currently believed by the public, and had made a great impression; but he condemned the subject they alluded to under two heads of criminality, first, the giving secret advice to the crown; and secondly, the use that had been made of his majesty's name for the purpose of influencing the votes of members of parliament in a matter depending before them. After some very sound constitutional remarks Mr. Baker concluded

* The numbers were 208—202.

by moving, "That it is now necessary to declare, that to report any opinion, or pretended opinion, of his majesty upon any bill or other proceeding depending in either house of parliament, with a view to influence the votes of the members, is a high crime and misdemeanor, derogatory to the honour of the crown, a breach of the fundamental privileges of parliament, and subversive of the constitution." The motion was seconded by Lord Maitland, and strongly opposed by Mr. Pitt, who concluded his speech with reproaching the ministers for their base attachment to their offices, though, upon their own state of the case, they had lost their power, and no longer possessed the confidence of their prince. On Wednesday, 17th, the India bill was rejected by the lords, and at twelve o'clock on the following night a messenger delivered to the two secretaries of state his majesty's orders, "that they should deliver up the seals of their office, and send them by the under secretaries, (Mr. Frazier and Mr. Nepean,) as a personal interview on the occasion would be disagreeable to him." Mr. Pitt was then appointed prime minister, and commenced that long career which has been considered a blessing or a curse to the country, according to the political medium through which it is viewed. Its real character cannot yet be pronounced, for many of his plans are still in operation; and it is only in remote and final consequences that we can decide upon the real qualities of particular measures.

As soon as the rumour of these changes arrived in Ireland the parliament was adjourned; and as soon as the change had actually taken place Lord Northington sent in his resignation. It was accepted on the 7th January, but his successor, the Duke of Rutland, was not appointed till the 24th February, 1784. The house stood adjourned till the 20th January, on which day it met, when a further adjournment was moved by the attorney-general, which was carried by a large majority. When the Duke of Rutland's appointment was officially announced, Mr. William Bra-bazon Ponsonby moved a vote of thanks to Lord Northington, which produced rather an angry debate. It was urged in his lordship's favour that he had refused the additional allowance of 4000*l.* per ann. and that he had not added to the public debt. The vote passed without amendment by a majority of 44.

The Duke of Rutland succeeded the Earl of Northington, and with him commenced Mr. Pitt's system, which ended in the incorporation of the two countries*. His grace was young and not

* Very sanguine hopes were entertained at first from this ministry. The people of Ireland had suspected the sincerity of the coalition administration, but from its successors they expected reduction in the army, retrenchment in the civil expenditure, reform in parliament, and protecting duties, i. e. heavy duties upon the importation of those manufactures which Ireland produced, so as to compel the people to use the home manufacture, and thus give employment to the people.

116 *Magnificence and splendor of his court.*

conversant in business, but he was amiable, generous; and convivial; and he became, from his first coming here, the favourite of the higher orders of the state, and would have been equally so with the lower, had not one or two questions been agitated directly after his arrival, which in parliament excited no commotion, but were eagerly laid hold on by some untoward spirits without doors to aid the cause of mischief and sedition, which they so perversely maintained. The duke's court was magnificent; a succession of various entertainments took place, over which the presence of the Duchess of Rutland, then confessedly one of the most beautiful women perhaps in Europe, diffused an animation and radiance totally unexampled. Social pleasures (so congenial to the Irish) were agreeably cultivated; the good cheer of the table was applauded even by its most renowned votaries, and altogether it was a season of much indulgence. His secretary was Mr. Orde, (afterwards Lord Bolton,) and who attended to business with more assiduity than the delicacy of his health would always permit.

When the house met, according to adjournment, a congratulatory address was unanimously voted to the Duke of Rutland. On one day thirteen petitions from counties and populous cities were presented to the house of commons by their respective representatives, praying a reform in the representation of parliament. Mr. Flood also, who had now returned from England, moved

for leave to bring in a bill upon the same subject. It was vehemently urged by Mr. Flood that a reform in the representation was necessary, and he was supported, though not warmly, by Mr. Grattan. The numbers were 85 for reform and 159 against it; and thus the new administration was discovered to be as hostile to this great measure as the preceding one had been*.

In the course of this session also Mr. Grattan brought the revenue, and Mr. Gardiner the commerce, under the notice of parliament. These, together with a motion for restraining the licence of the press, in consequence of some scandalous and seditious attacks in the newspapers upon several of the members; were the only other measures of importance agitated during this session. On the 4th of May, 1784, the Duke of Rutland prorogued it in a speech of much conciliation.

Meanwhile the people without doors continued factious and discontented. Agitators still impelled the multitude, and who, wishing for something more than happiness, and dissatisfied with liberty, filled the country with their seditious clamours. When a nation, or the majority of a nation, is determined to quarrel with existing institutions, every thing is made, by ingenious but

* Two able speeches against reform were delivered by Mr. Moncke Mason and Sir Hercules Langrishe. The former argued upon the principle with much acuteness, and the latter upon the specific provisions of Mr. Flood's bill with great enthusiasm.

pernicious perversion, to minister to their diseased fancies. So it was with the people of Ireland at this period. They laboured under a few real grievances; they imagined they were encompassed by numberless ones. They were principally irritated at the failure of their favourite scheme of parliamentary reform; and a more limited class (chiefly manufacturers) exclaimed against the rejection of certain protecting duties. Even the salutary and necessary check imposed upon the licentiousness of the press was aggravated into monstrous tyranny, which no free subject ought to endure. Several excesses were committed by the populace, and in Dublin the insurrection became so audacious that the members were attacked in their passage to the house, and the sanctity of the house itself violated by tumultuously forcing into the gallery. The mayor of Dublin (Mr. Green) was thought to be so remiss in his duty on this occasion (for notice of an expected riot was sent him by the secretary, Mr. Orde,) that the house passed a censure upon him. Among the excesses to which the populace resorted may be mentioned the barbarous one (imported from America) of "tarring and feathering," and a still more savage one, that of houghing the soldiers, whenever any stragglers could be surprised. This was done by the butchers of the metropolis, a set of miscreants who required no other qualification for their infamous business "than a strong arm,

a sharp knife, and a hard heart *." The soldiery had, indeed, been rather unadvisedly called in to suppress a tumult, when they exercised unnecessary rigour, and this sanguinary retaliation was the consequence.

The principal objection that had been urged against Mr. Flood's bill for parliamentary reform was, that it had originated with an armed body, and as such could only be rejected by the house. There was a solid constitutional argument in this objection, which the promoters of the measure felt they could not easily refute; it therefore only remained to obviate it by prosecuting their plan in a manner more consonant to the established forms of parliament. It was accordingly resolved, that regular meetings should be convened by the sheriffs of the different counties and towns for the purpose of taking into consideration the necessity of amending the defective representation of the people in parliament. The first meeting was held in Dublin on the 7th June, 1784, where the high sheriffs presided. Ten resolutions were entered into, expressive of the necessity of a more equal representation, of the grievance of long parliaments, and of the excellence of annual ones. By one of the resolutions it was declared highly desirable, that the elective franchise should be extended to the Roman

* These words were used by General Luttrell, (afterwards Lord Carhampton,) who moved for leave to bring in a bill to restrain this barbarous practice.

120 *Appointment of a grand national congress.*

catholics, still, however, "preserving in its fullest extent the present protestant government of the country." A committee was appointed to draw up an address to the people at large, calling upon them to unite with the inhabitants of Dublin in furthering the great cause. The address was accordingly prepared, and it went into all the usual topics. The constitution was in danger—the balance between the three estates was destroyed—the members did *not* represent the people, but an overgrown aristocracy, in whose hands were concentrated the greater part of those boroughs which returned members—seats were sold—and finally, the best proof of the necessity of a reform was to be found in the many wanton and reiterated acts of oppression committed by the commons in the session that had just closed. Under such circumstances they called upon the nation at large to join with them in obtaining a redress of the grievances they complained of; and they proposed, that a national congress should be held at Dublin on the 25th of the October ensuing, consisting of five persons to be elected from each county, city, and great town in the kingdom, "there to deliberate, digest, and determine on such measures as might seem to them most conducive to re-establish the constitution on a pure and permanent basis, and secure to the inhabitants of the kingdom, peace, liberty, and safety."

After this they unanimously agreed upon a pe-

tion or remonstrance to the king, which of course involved a repetition of the same topics, adding, however, a prayer, that his majesty would be pleased to dissolve the parliament then existing. This request was put, indeed, under the specious form of hoping that his majesty "would adopt with decision and effect whatever he should collect to be the sense of the people;" and it was confidently anticipated, that throughout Ireland the example of Dublin would be followed in resolving on the necessity of a dissolution.

This petition was presented to the lord-lieutenant by the high sheriffs, with an address to his excellency, requesting it might be transmitted. To this they received the following answer:

"GENTLEMEN,

"At the same that I comply with your request in transmitting to his majesty a paper signed by you, entitled A Petition of the Freemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the City of Dublin, I shall not fail to convey my entire disapprobation of it, as casting unjust reflections upon the laws and parliament of Ireland, and tending to weaken the authority of both,"

This was rather an awkward reply to the profound politicians and sagacious reformers of the city of Dublin; it was a chill and nipping frost that blighted all their buds of legislation, and destroyed their hopes of trying the dexterity of

unpractised hands upon the sound body of the constitution. Nor was this all. Though the proceedings in Dublin were seconded by those of many other places throughout the country, the whole business of regeneration was unkindly stopped by the vigorous interposition of government. Prosecutions by information, &c. were commenced against the several persons by whom such aggregate meetings had been assembled. The high sheriff of the county of Dublin was sentenced to fine and imprisonment by the court of king's bench, which, operating with a few other wholesome rigours, checked the rising spirit of disaffection, which was walking abroad clothed in the specious and sacred garb of the constitution.

Notwithstanding, however, the hand of power was thus heavily raised against them they still struggled. A petition to the king from Belfast, nearly similar to the one from Dublin, was forwarded to Mr. Pitt, the avowed advocate for reform*, though not exactly the reform these gen-

* The plan of reform, as devised by this great statesman, may be collected from the following propositions, which he submitted to parliament on the 7th of May, 1783:

" 1. That it was the opinion of the house, that measures were highly necessary to be taken for the future prevention of bribery and expence at elections.

" 2. That for the future, when the majority of votes for any borough shall be convicted of gross and notorious corruption before a select committee of that house, appointed to try the merits of any election, such borough shall be disfranchised, and the minority of voters not so convicted shall be

Clemen had devised. In his answer he informed them, " that he had undoubtedly been, and still continued, a zealous friend to a reform in parliament, but that he must beg leave to say, that he had been so on grounds very different from those adopted in their petition. That what was there proposed he considered as tending to produce still greater evils than any of those which the friends of reform were desirous to remedy."

The volunteers still regarded themselves as legislators, but they could not agree upon the mode in which they were to legislate. Some were for admitting the catholics to the elective franchise; others were against it: they split into factions; their discord was fomented by government, which was glad of an opportunity to disunite them by their own contests, and their union dissolved much quicker than it had united.

Meanwhile the congress met, (October 25, 1784,) though the sheriffs were awed from attending it officially by the threats of the attorney-general. When they assembled it was discovered, that many counties and towns had sent no dele-

entitled to vote for the county in which such borough should be situated.

" 3. That an addition of knights of the shire and of representatives of the metropolis should be added to the state of the representation."

He left the number to future discussion, but said he should propose 100. These propositions were negatived, however, by a large majority, when the house divided on the order of the day, the numbers being 293—149.

124 *Appearance of the white-boys in the south.*

gates; and after passing some resolutions of a similar tendency to those of their first meeting, and exhorting those communities who had not sent delegates to elect some, as they valued their liberty and happiness, they adjourned to the 2d January, 1785, when they again assembled. Representatives from 27 counties were present, and from most of the cities and considerable towns. They amounted to about 200. Their proceedings did not differ much from those of the Convention, only that they suggested no specific plan, but left the subject quite open to the discretion and wisdom of parliament.

About this period the *white-boys* made their appearance again in the South; but they were soon quelled by the loyal and vigorous efforts of the Rev. Dr. Troy, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory, and the clergy of his diocese, for which he received the acknowledgments of the government.

Parliament met on the 28th January, 1785. The British parliament met on the 25th. Both legislatures were chiefly occupied by commercial regulations between the two countries. In the speech from the throne, addressed to the latter, it appeared that their "first concern was the settlement of all differences with Ireland. Amongst the objects which now require consideration, I must particularly recommend to your earnest attention the adjustment of such points in the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland as are not yet finally arranged. The

system which will unite both kingdoms the most closely on principles of reciprocal advantage, will, I am persuaded, best ensure the general prosperity of my dominions."

The speech from the viceroy to the Irish parliament, after touching upon the recent disturbances and their happy suppression, recommended the earnest consideration of the same topics.

The free trade granted to Ireland had produced few of those advantages, respecting which such sanguine expectations had been indulged. Its manufactures were in too impoverished a state, and were too long depressed, to spring at once into maturity. They required the fostering care of parliament to make them flourish. This, however, was not bestowed; for while all English manufactures and commodities were imported at a trifling per centage *ad valorem* into the Irish ports, duties amounting nearly to a prohibition were imposed upon the produce and manufactures of Ireland imported into England, with one very important exception, that of linen. It was thought that *protecting duties* could alone remedy this evil, and they were loudly called for by the nation. Mr. Gardiner had brought this subject before parliament in the last session, and in his speech entered into some comprehensive details upon the state of Irish commerce; his motion, however, was negatived, and the whole system of protecting duties ridiculed.

Something, notwithstanding, it was imperiously

necessary should be done; and accordingly, in pursuance of the recommendation from the throne, Mr. Orde, secretary of state for Ireland, on the 7th of February, 1785, laid before parliament, in the following series of propositions, the grand commercial regulations which had been digested during the recess into a regular system. There were two plans, obviously and radically different, on which a permanent arrangement might be formed on the basis of equality. 1. A system of mutual prohibition. 2. A system of mutual admission. The reader will perceive that Mr. Orde's propositions embraced the latter system.

ORIGINAL PROPOSITIONS.

1. *Resolved*, " That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is highly important to the general interest of the British empire that the trade between Great Britain and Ireland be encouraged and extended as much as possible, and for that purpose that the intercourse and commerce be finally settled and regulated on permanent and equitable principles for the mutual benefit of both countries.

2. *Resolved*, " That towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement it is fit and proper that all articles not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain and Ireland should be imported into either kingdom from each other reciprocally,

under the same regulations and at the same duties, if subject to duties, to which they are liable when imported directly from the place of their growth, produce, or manufacture; and that all duties originally paid on importation into either country respectively shall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other.

3. *Resolved*, " That for the same purpose it is proper that no prohibition shall exist in either country against the importation, use, or sale of any article, the growth, product, or manufacture of the other; and that the duty on the importation of every such article, if subject to duty in either country, should be precisely the same in one country as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary in either country, in consequence of an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption.

4. *Resolved*, " That in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of either country are different on the importation into the other, it would be expedient that they should be reduced, in the kingdom where they are the highest, to the amount payable in the other; and that all such articles should be exportable from the kingdom into which they shall be imported as free from duty as the similar commodities or home manufactures of the same kingdom.

5. *Resolved*, " That for the same purpose it is also proper, that in all cases where either king-

dom shall charge articles of its own consumption with an internal duty on the manufacture, or a duty on the material, the same manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a further duty on importation, to the same amount as the internal duty on the manufacture, or to an amount adequate to countervail the duty on the material, and shall be entitled to such drawbacks or bounties on exportation as may leave the same subject to no heavier burden than the home-made manufacture; such further duty to continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties to balance which it shall be imposed, or until the manufacture coming from the other kingdom shall be subjected there to an equal burden, not drawn back or compensated or exportative.

6. *Resolved*, " That, in order to give permanency to the settlement now intended to be established, it is necessary that no prohibition or new or additional duties should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom on the importation of any article of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other, except such additional duties as may be requisite to balance duties on internal consumption, pursuant to the foregoing resolution.

7. *Resolved*, " That for the same purpose it is necessary farther, that no prohibitions or new or additional duties should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom on the exportation of any article of native growth, product, or manufacture from

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thence to the other, except such as either kingdom may deem expedient from time to time upon corn, meal, flour, and biscuits; and also except when there now exists any prohibition which is not reciprocal, or any duty which is not equal in both kingdoms; in every which case the prohibition may be made reciprocal, or the duties raised so as to make them equal.

8. *Resolved*, " That for the same purpose it is necessary that no bounties whatsoever shall be paid or payable in either kingdom on the exportation of any article to the other, except such as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits, and such as are in the nature of drawbacks or compensations for duties paid, and that no bounty should be granted in this kingdom on the exportation of any article imported from the British plantations, or any manufacture made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Britain on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback or compensation of or for duties paid over and above any duties paid thereon in Britain.

9. *Resolved*, " That it is expedient, for the general benefit of the British empire, that the importation of articles from foreign states should be regulated from time to time in each kingdom on such terms as may afford an effectual preference to the importation of similar articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other.

10. *Resolved*, " That it is essential to the com-

mercial interests of this country to prevent, as much as possible, an accumulation of national debt; and that therefore it is highly expedient that the annual revenues of this kingdom should be made equal to its annual expences.

11. *Resolved*, " That for the better protection of trade, whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of this kingdom (after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks,) shall produce, over and above the sum of 656,000*l.* in each year in peace, wherein the annual revenues shall be equal to the annual expences, and in each year of war, without regard to such equality, should be appropriated towards the support of the naval force of the empire, in such manner as the parliament of this kingdom shall direct."

These propositions were founded upon enlarged and liberal principles. The chancellor of the exchequer, when proposing the tenth, declared, " that no one was a greater enemy to accumulating debt upon debt in times of peace than he was and that this salutary proposition was made and inserted by the advice and assistance of a right hon. gentleman, (Mr. Grattan,) to whom the nation is greatly indebted for his integrity, his abilities, and success in the public service; and gentlemen will see the effects of such a beneficial plan, which will at once prevent future debt and insure future economy." Some opposition, however, was made to these resolutions by

Mr. Flood and others. Mr. Brownlow, in particular, raved about being tributary slaves by the last proposition, and congratulated Mr. Orde that he was in a free country, and not in a Polish diet, or he would never live to carry back an answer to his master. All this was because the surplus of the revenue was to go to the support of the empire at large. Moderate men, however, were satisfied, and Mr. Grattan warmly approved of them. They were finally agreed to, and on the 22d February, 1785, they were read in a committee of the British house of commons, when Mr. Pitt opened the business in a masterly speech full of wisdom and conciliation. He took a review of the commercial subserviency in which Ireland had been held since the Revolution, and the freedom she had acquired in 1779, as far as foreign trade was concerned, and liberty to export to and import from the colonies and the countries of Europe. The intercourse between the two countries, however, had existed where it was, and it was the object of these regulations to put them upon a system of equality and fairness. Lord North and Mr. Fox opposed this plan, because they doubted whether any system of intercourse was at that time necessary to be arranged between the two countries. Meanwhile, however, the jealousy of the commercial towns of England was excited, and petitions from Manchester, Liverpool, and Glasgow were presented. Counsel was heard at the bar of the house, and

various other examinations took place. The number of petitions encreased; the table was loaded with them; a great difference of opinion was excited. Mr. Pitt, if he was ever sincere in any cause, was sincere in this: he never spoke with more warmth and zeal. On the 12th of May, however, he found it necessary, in compliance with the strong remonstrances of the manufacturers, or perhaps from the new light which he had derived from their petitions and the examinations, to bring in the following enlarged, and, in some respects, new propositions, which were strongly contested in the British parliament, both in the commons and lords.

I. " That it is highly important to the interests of both countries that the commerce between Great Britain and Ireland should be finally regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.

II. " That a full participation of commercial advantages should be permanently secured to Ireland whenever a provision, equally permanent and secure, shall be made by the parliament of that kingdom towards defraying, in proportion to its growing prosperity, the necessary expences, in time of peace, of protecting the trade and general interests of the empire.

III. " That towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, ' except those of the growth,

produce, or manufacture of any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan,' should be imported into each kingdom from the other reciprocally, under the same regulations, and at the same duties (*if subject to duties*) to which they 'would be' liable when imported directly from the country or place whence the same may 'have been imported into Great Britain or Ireland respectively, as the case may be;' and that all duties originally paid on importation into either country respectively, except on arrack and foreign brandy, and on rum, and all other sorts of strong waters, not imported from the British colonies in the West Indies, shall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other. " But, nevertheless, that the duties shall continue to be protected and guarded, as at present, by withholding the drawback, until a certificate from the proper officers of the revenue in the kingdom to which the export may be made, shall be returned and compared with the entry outwards."

IV. " That it is highly important to the general interests of the British empire, that the laws for regulating trade and navigation should be the same in Great Britain and Ireland, and, therefore it is essential towards carrying into effect the present settlement, that *all laws which have been made, or shall be made in Great Britain, for securing exclusive privileges to the ships and mariners of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British*

colonies and plantations, and for regulating and restraining the trade of the British colonies and plantations, such laws imposing the same restraints and 'conferring the same benefits on the subjects of both kingdoms, should' be in force in Ireland, 'by laws to be passed by the parliament of that kingdom for the same time, and' in the same manner as in Great Britain.

V. "That it is farther essential to this settlement, that all goods and commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture of British or foreign colonies in America or the West Indies, and the British or foreign settlements on the coast of Africa, imported into Ireland, should on importation be subject to the same duties 'and regulations' as the like goods are, or from time to time shall be subject to, upon importation into Great Britain, 'or if prohibited from being imported into Great Britain, shall in like manner be prohibited from being imported into Ireland.'

VI. "That in order to prevent illicit practices, injurious to the revenue and commerce of both kingdoms, it is expedient, that all goods, whether of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, or of any foreign country, which shall hereafter be imported into Great Britain from Ireland, or into Ireland from Great Britain, should be put, by laws to be passed in the parliament of the two kingdoms, under the same regulations with respect to bonds, coekets,

and other instruments, to which the like goods are now subject in passing from one port of Great Britain to another.

VII. " That for the like purpose it is also expedient, that when any goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British West India islands, ' or any other of the British colonies or plantations,' shall be shipped from Ireland for Great Britain, they should be accompanied with such original certificates of the revenue officers of the said colonies as shall be required by the law on importation into Great Britain; and that when the whole quality included in one certificate shall not be shipped at any one time, the original certificate, properly indorsed as to quantity, should be sent with the first parcel; to identify the remainder, if shipped at any future period, new certificates should be granted by the principal officers of the ports in Ireland, extracted from a register of the original documents, specifying the quantities before shipped from thence, by what vessels, and to what ports.

VIII. " That it is essential for carrying into effect the present settlement, that all goods exported from Ireland to the British colonies in the West Indies, or in America, ' or to the British settlements on the coast of Africa,' should, from time to time, be made liable to such duties and drawbacks, and put under such regulation as may be necessary, in order that the same may not be exported with less incumbrance of duties or im-

positions than the like goods shall be burthened with when exported from Great Britain.

IX. " That it is essential to the general commercial interests of the empire, ' that so long as the parliament of this kingdom shall think it adviseable that the commerce to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope shall be carried on solely by an exclusive company, having liberty to import into the port of London only, no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope should be inportable into Ireland from any foreign country, or from any settlement in the East Indies belonging to any such foreign country; and that no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said countries should be allowed to be imported into Ireland but through Great Britain; and it shall be lawful to export such goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan from Great Britain to Ireland, with the same duties retained thereon as are now retained on their being exported to that kingdom, but that an account shall be kept of the duties retained, and the not drawback on the said goods imported to Ireland; and that the amount thereof shall be remitted by the receiver-general of his majesty's customs in Great Britain to the proper officer of the revenue in Ireland, to be placed to the account of his majesty's revenue there, subject to the disposal of the parliament

of that kingdom; and that whenever the commerce to the said countries shall cease to be an exclusive company in the goods of the produce of countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, the goods should be importable into Ireland from countries from which they may be importable to Great Britain, and no other; and that no vessel should be cleared out from Ireland for any part of the countries from the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan but such as shall be freighted in Ireland by the said exclusive company, and shall have sailed from the port of London; and that the ships going from Great Britain to any of the said countries beyond the Cape of Hope should not be restrained from touching at any of the ports in Ireland, and taking on board there any of the goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain.

X. " That no prohibition should exist in either country against the importation, use, or sale of any article, the growth or manufacture of the other, except such as either kingdom may judge expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits; ' and except such qualified prohibitions, at present contained in any act of the British or Irish parliament as do not absolutely prevent the importation of goods or manufactures, or materials of manufactures, but only regulate the weight, the size, the package, or other particular circumstances or I escribe the built or

country, or dimensions of the ships importing the same; and also, except on ammunition, arms, gunpowder, and other utensils of war, importable only by virtue of his majesty's license; and that the duty on the importation of every such article (*if subject to duty in either country*) should be precisely the same in the one country as in the other, except when an addition may be necessary in either country, in consequence of an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption, 'or in consequence of internal bounties in the country where such article is grown, produced, or manufactured, and except such duties as either kingdom may judge expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits.'

XI. "That in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, are different on the importation into the other, it is expedient that they should be reduced, in the kingdom where they are the highest, to an 'amount not exceeding' the amount 'payable in the other;' so that the same shall not be less than ten and a half per cent. upon 'any article which was charged with a duty, on importation into Ireland, of ten and a half per cent. or upwards, previous to the 17th day of May 1782;' and that all such articles should be exportable from this kingdom, into which they shall be imported, as free from duty as the similar commodities or home manufactures of the same kingdom."

XII. " That it is also proper, that in all cases where the articles of the consumption of either kingdom shall be charged with an internal duty on the manufacture, the said manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a farther duty on importation, adequate to countervail the internal duty on the manufacture ' as far as relates to the duties now charged thereon;' such farther duty to continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties to balance, which, it shall be imposed; and that where there is a duty on the importation of the raw material of any manufacture in one kingdom, greater than the like duty on raw materials in the other, such manufacture may, on its importation ' into the other kingdom,' be charged with such a countervailing duty as may be sufficient to subject the same so imported, to ' burthens adequate to those which' the manufacture composed of the like raw materials is subject to, in consequence of duties on the importation of such materials in the kingdom into which such manufacture is so imported; and the said manufacture so imported, shall be entitled to such drawbacks or bounties on exportation, as may leave the same subject to no heavier burthen than the home-made manufacture.

XIII. " That, in order to give permanency to the settlement now intended to be established; it is necessary, that no new or additional duties should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom, on

the importation of any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other, except such additional duties as may be requisite to balance the duties on internal consumption, pursuant to the foregoing resolution, or in consequence of bounties remaining on such articles when exported to the other kingdom.

XIV. "That for the same purpose, it is necessary farther, that no prohibition, or new additional duties, shall hereafter be imposed in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article of native growth, produce, or manufacture 'from the one kingdom,' to the other, except such as either kingdom may deem expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuit.

XV. "That for the same purpose, it is necessary, that no bounties whatsoever should be paid or payable in either kingdom, 'on the exportation of any article to the other, except as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuit, 'and except also the bounties at present given by Great Britain' on beer, and spirits distilled from corn; and such as are in the nature of drawbacks or compensation for duties paid, and that no bounty should be 'payable' on the exportation of any article to the British colonies or plantations, "or to the British settlements on the coast of Africa,' or on the exportation of any article imported from the British plantation, 'or from the British settlements on the coast of Africa, or British settlements in the East Indies;" or any manufacture

made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Great Britain, on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback, or compensation of or for duties paid, over and above, any duties paid thereon in Britain; and where 'any internal bounty shall be given in either kingdom on any goods manufactured therein, and shall remain on such goods when exported, a countervailing duty adequate thereto, may be laid upon the importation of the said goods into the other kingdom.'

XVI. "That it is expedient for the general benefit of the British empire, that the importation of articles from foreign 'countries' should be regulated from time to time, in each kingdom on such terms as may 'effectually favour the importation of similar articles of the growth, product or manufacture of the other' except in the case of materials, of manufactures, which are, or hereafter may be allowed to be imported from foreign countries, duty free; and in all cases where any articles are, or may be subject to higher duties on importation into this kingdom, from the country belonging to any of the states of North America, that the like goods are or may be subject to when imported, as the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British colonies and plantations, or, as the produce of the fisheries carried on by the British subjects, such articles shall be subject to the same duties on importation

into Ireland, from the countries belonging to any of the states of North America, as the same are or may be subject to on importation from the said countries into this kingdom.

“ That it is expedient, that measures should be taken to prevent disputes touching the exercise of the right of the inhabitants of each kingdom, to fish on the coast of any part of the British dominion.

XVIII. “ That it is expedient, that ‘ such privileges of printing and vending books as are or may be legally possessed within Great Britain, under the grant of the crown or otherwise,’ and ‘ the copy rights of the authors and booksellers of Great Britain, should continue to be protected in the manner they are at present, by the laws of Great Britain; and that it is just that measures should be taken by the parliament of Ireland for giving the like protection to the copy-rights of the authors and booksellers of that kingdom.’

XIX. “ That it is expedient, that regulations should be adopted with respect to patents, to be hereafter granted for the encouragement of new inventions, so that the rights, privileges, and restrictions thereon granted and contained, shall be of equal duration and force throughout Great Britain and Ireland.

XX. “ That the appropriation of whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of the kingdom of Ireland (the due collection thereof being secured by permanent provision) shall produce after

deducting all drawbacks, repayments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks, over and above the sum of six hundred and fifty six thousand pounds in each year, towards the support of the naval force of the empire, to be applied in such manner as the parliament of Ireland shall direct, by an act to be passed for that purpose, will be a satisfactory provision, proportioned to the growing prosperity of that kingdom, towards defraying, in time of peace the necessary expences of protecting the trade and general interests of the empire."

It will be seen that the chief objects of the additional propositions were to provide, 1st, That whatever navigation laws the British parliament should hereafter find it necessary to enact for the preservation of her marine, the same should be passed by the legislature of Ireland; 2ndly, Against the importing into Ireland, and from thence into Great Britain, of any other West Indian merchandizes, than such as were the produce of our own colonies; and 3dly, that Ireland should debar herself from any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the streights of Magellan so long as it should be thought necessary to continue the charter of the English East India Company.

After a discussion of several months in the British parliament, they were propounded to the Irish legislature on the 12th. Aug. 1785. An animated debate ensued which lasted till nine in the

morning, when upon the division there appeared, for leave to bring in the bill 127, against it 108. Such a majority in the very commencement of the measure was certainly equivalent to a defeat, and in that light the ministry considered it; for, Mr. Orde, having moved the first reading of the bill, declared his intention of not making any further progress in the measure during the rest of that session. Mr. Grattan distinguished himself on this occasion, delivering a speech which may rank with his happiest exertions in parliament. Mr. Curran also distinguished himself in the several stages of the discussion. He thus characteristically described the individuals, to whose exertions it had been chiefly owing, that the measure was finally abandoned.

“Nor let us,” said he, “forget in our exultation, to whom we are indebted for the deliverance. Here stood the trusty mariner, (Mr. Conolly) on his old station the mast head, and gave the signal. Here (Mr. Flood) all the wisdom of the state was collected, exploring your weakness, and your strength, detecting every ambuscade and pointing to the hidden battery, that was brought to bear on the shrine of freedom. And there (Mr. Grattan) was exerting an eloquence more than human, inspiring, forming, directing, animating to the great purposes of your salvation.”

The whole nation partook of the triumph of the senate. Public illuminations testified its joy.

The measure thus completely defeated was never afterwards resumed in either country.

In 1786, the patriotic members of the commons, whose numbers had now greatly increased, made a vigorous stand upon the pension list, a subject of real national grievance. Mr. Forbes, after an animated speech, moved, "that the present application and amount of pensions on the civil establishment were a grievance to the nation, and demanded redress." The motion after an interesting debate was lost by a majority of 134 against 78. Mr. Grattan and Mr. Curran both supported it, the latter in a speech containing an admirable specimen of his sarcastic humour*; the former hurling forth the thunders of his eloquence in majesty and strength. "Should I affirm," said he, "that the pension list is not a grievance, I should affirm in the face of my country, an impudent, an insolent, and a public lie."

The year 1787, was distinguished by the appearance of fresh insurgents in Munster, under the denomination of *Right Boys*, so called from their leader Capt. Right, who appears, however, to have acted very wrong. The subject was submitted to parliament by the lord lieutenant in his speech. A committee was appointed to take the question into consideration, and the Attorney General (Fitzgibbon) detailed a series of curious facts, concerning these tumults. They arose from

* See Appendix, No. I.

the old cause, exorbitant rents and exorbitant tythe. The insurgents proceeded with much method. They went from parish to parish swearing in the inhabitants. Reformation of tythes was the first object they had in view; they bound themselves by oath not to pay more than a certain price per acre; not to take them from the minister at a greater price; nor to assist, or allow him to be assisted in drawing the tythe: also to permit no proctor. They next resolved to prevent the collection of parish cesses; then to nominate parish clerks, and, in some cases, curates. They declared what churches should or should not be repaired, and in one case they threatened to burn a new church, if the old one were not given for a mass house. These proceedings only paved the way for others of a more tumultuary and dangerous character: such as regulating the price of lands, raising the price of labour, and opposing the collection of hearth money and other taxes. The attorney general declared he was well acquainted with Munster, and he would assert upon the authority of that knowledge, that it was impossible for human wretchedness to exceed that of the miserable tenantry in that province. He knew that the unhappy tenantry were ground to powder by relentless landlords. Their miseries were intolerable, but they did not originate with the clergy, nor could the legislature stand by and see them take redress into their own hands. He therefore moved, that further provisions by statute

are indispensibly necessary to prevent tumultuous rising and assemblies, and for the more adequate and effectual punishment of persons guilty of outrage, riot, and illegal combination, and of administering, and taking unlawful oaths. A bill was accordingly brought in to this effect, but it was vehemently opposed by several of the patriots, as if intended to be followed up with a general police bill. It was also particularly objected to as deviating from the English riot act. This was the last measure of any importance that occurred this session of parliament.

In October, 1787, died his Grace the Duke of Rutland. His demise was sudden, according to some reports: while, according to others, it was the necessary consequence of excessive dissipation of every kind. He was in the 32d year of his age. He was beloved for his social qualities; but his political proceedings did not excite much contentment. Never was the poet's phrase, *Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile*, more fully verified than in the effects produced by the excessive gaiety of this nobleman, and of his elegant and beautiful duchess. To assume an air of excessive sprightliness, or levity of deportment, not always unaccompanied with oaths, was for some time a fashion with ladies who affected a high style of manners. "If the duchess," says a contemporary writer, "indulged her natural flow of spirits to such a pitch as to give countenance to any fashions of this kind, her design might have been to try how far might

be carried the propensities of the Irish gentry to ape the manners of the viceroy and his consort: in like manner as a certain great personage is said to have exhibited the exercise of a child's plaything, called the *quiz*, in consequence of which the citizens of London and Dublin were for some time ridiculously employed in this puerile sport, whenever they appeared in the streets: whence, to *quiz* a man came to signify to dupe him sportively into a ludicrous mistake. The most permanent effect of the duke's example was a change, to immoderately late hours for conviviality or amusement. Gentlemen, whose time of dinner had before been from four to five o'clock, immediately adopted the custom of dining between six and seven, and some even at eight or nine o'clock, a custom still in force, notwithstanding that a different example was set of early hours, sober pleasures, and domestic virtues, by the duke's immediate successor."

That successor was Earl Temple, (now created Marquis of Buckingham) who was appointed a second time to the viceroyalty. During the short period of his former administration, he had vigilantly laboured in the correction of public abuses: and they who lived and fattened upon those abuses, beheld his approaching arrival among them with no very comfortable feelings. Nor were they without reason for their fears. He carried a severe and requisite scrutiny into the various fiscal departments and offices of the castle, a duty so

neglected by former viceroys that the system of speculation was altogether enormous. Thus the military stores were openly embezzled; arms, condemned as useless, carried away through one gate of the castle, and brought back through another as newly purchased. From a fraudulent plan long established, clerks in subordinate offices, with salaries not exceeding a hundred pounds a year, were enabled to live in a splendid style. Struck with a violent panic at the viceroy's investigation of their accounts, and his demand of the immediate payment of the money due, some of the defaulters fled the kingdom, some by entreaties and promises eluded the blow, and some chose the horrible refuge of suicide. Thus far his plans of reformation were good; but they had been better had he extended them to *all* the abuses that prevailed. Such an extension, however, was not consistent with the avowed views of the ministry at home, and the parliamentary majorities continued to be obtained by means not more consistent with public honour and national safety, than some of those which were employed by speculators in aggrandizing their own fortunes.

The Marquis of Buckingham called the parliament together in Jan. 1788; and the first object that engaged their serious attention was the subject of tythes. The evils that were then felt, and that still exist, in the levying of this tax, were great and insupportable. They prevailed chiefly in the South, and in the South, as a neces-

sary consequence, originated almost all those tumults which had agitated the country for the last twenty years. Tythes, however, though the greatest, was not the only grievance. The mode of collecting them was no less oppressive than the amount of the tythe itself *. We have al-

* The following statement, by Sir Jonah Barrington, (See Hist. Anecdotes, &c. p. xxxvii, et seq.) of the mode of collecting tythes in parts of the county of Mayo, Sligo, &c. being those very parishes and districts where the French army under General Humbert was so cordially received, by the unfortunate peasantry, in 1803, may give some idea of the imperious necessity which exists for changing and regulating this odious system.

“ The protestant clergyman, generally lets his tythe to a proctor, or farmer, the wealthy parishioners rent *theirs* from the proctor upon *reasonable* terms which prevents their interference. The remaining tythes of the parish being those of the peasants are then advertized to be *canted* (a sort of auction) at some ale-house, the bidding commences at night, frequently so late as eleven or twelve o'clock:—the proctor, (and in *some* instances the rector) superintends the sale; each cottager's tythe is set up distinctly, and every bidder, according to the liberality of his *advance*, gets a glass or two of strong whisky, to encourage him: the cottager's pride, to purchase his own tithe increases with his inebriety: puffers are introduced: the sale raised; and, when the cottager is at length declared the buyer, a promissory note is drawn for him; he being *totally illiterate* puts his mark to it, and when he awakens next day from his intoxication, he is informed of the nature of his purchase. This *cant* generally lasts several *nights*; the cottager, if not punctual, is then served with a law process, called a civil bill, for the amount of the note, a decree with *costs*, of course, issues against him: and the blanket (his children's covering) or the potatoes (his *only* food) are sold to

ready (vol. i. p. 350, et seq.) unfolded some of the pernicious machinery of this system which calls so loudly for amelioration. On the present occasion, Mr. Grattan exerted himself with an industry in detail, and a splendor of eloquence, in enforcing what he detailed, which even he himself never surpassed. He disclosed the evil in all its native deformity; he stripped off all its insidious coverings, and shewed the country and the world what monstrous iniquities were transacting under the eye, nay, with the very sanction of the law. His speeches comprehend a history. He repeatedly brought the question before parliament, but his great effort was on the 14th of July, 1788, when he moved for a committee, to inquire into the alleged grievances in the raising of tythes. No extract, no faint outline could convey any adequate impression of this speech, which to be known must be read, and to be read must be to feel and admire it.

In the course of this year (1788) the county of Armagh was disturbed by the increased anipay the expences of the proceeding. The attorney and proctor understand each other; the costs of recovering a crown often exceed a guinea; and the catholic peasant, instead of a *tenth*, frequently yields up the whole of his scanty miserable crop, to support a pastor of the protestant establishment.

"Unable either to bear or counteract the oppressions of the proctors, the beggard peasant becomes discontented, gradually *riotous*, and at length desperate, and the catastrophe generally concludes by the parishioners (*illegally*) cutting the proctor's ears off, and the proctor (*according to law*) hanging the parishioners."

mosity and outrages of the peep-of-day boys, and defenders. They had been augmenting themselves since 1785. Originally they were all presbyterians, but in process of time Roman catholics having joined them, they became indiscriminately denominated papists, thus adding religious fanaticism to civil dissention. The protestants took the alarm, and committed many wanton excesses. The law was still in force against the catholics being possessed of arms. The protestants paid domiciliary visits to search for these forbidden arms, and in their search often trespassed against the laws they affected to uphold. These visits were commonly made early in the morning: hence they who made them, were called *peep-of-day boys*. Those who were the objects of such inquisitorial proceedings styled themselves *Defenders*, and hence the fatal origin of *defenderism*. Personal feuds became general quarrels; and in process of time whole districts embraced, as a matter of party, what, in the commencement, was merely perhaps, individual contention.

CHAP. V.

The King's illness—Proceedings of the English parliament upon the regency question—Mr. Pitt's propositions—Different course adopted by the Irish legislature—Mr. Grattan defeats the minister in accelerating the day of discussion—Anticipation of Lord Loughborough as to the course the Irish parliament would likely pursue—An address voted—The viceroy refuses to transmit it—A committee appointed to carry it and present it to the Prince of Wales—Fitzgibbon appointed lord chancellor—Increasing unpopularity of the Marquis of Buckingham—His departure.

THE year 1789, was marked by a calamity which at the present moment again hangs over the British empire. We allude to that deplorable malady which then attacked his majesty, and under which he is at present suffering. The public sorrow was great on this occasion, and it was sincere. The meeting of parliament was looked forward to with great anxiety and impatience. It took place on the 20th Nov. 1788, when they unanimously adjourned to the 4th of December. The physicians who attended his majesty were, in the mean

time, examined before the privy council, who all agreed as to his utter inability to meet parliament, of the uncertain duration of his complaint, and the probability that, in time, it would be removed. On the 4th Dec. the houses met again, when the minutes of the privy council were read, and Monday the 8th was fixed on for taking them into consideration. On that day committees of both houses were appointed to examine the physicians. They brought up their report on the tenth, when Mr. Pitt moved, "that a committee be appointed to examine the journals of the house, and report precedents of such proceedings as may have been had in cases of the personal exercise of the royal authority being prevented or interrupted by infancy, sickness, infirmity, or otherwise, with a view to provide for the same." This resolution was objected to by Mr. Fox; as tending only to create delay. He contended also, that there was an heir apparent to the crown, of full age and understanding; and that in his (Mr. Fox's) opinion, it was clear that during the suspension of the exercise of the royal authority from incapacity, the heir apparent, situated as the prince of Wales then was, had as just a claim to the exercise of kingly power, during such incapacity, as if the crown had naturally demised. This position, however, Mr. Pitt utterly denied, and affirmed, "that to advance such a claim or right in the prince, or any one, without the concurrence of both houses of parliament, was a species of treason to the

constitution." Much and important debating ensued. The prince abstained from advancing any claim, and his friends, in both houses, deprecated all discussion of the question. It was decided, however, by large majorities, that it was the exclusive right of both houses of parliament to supply the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority: Mr. Pitt wrote a letter to the prince of Wales, to which his royal highness replied *; but happily the restoration of his majesty rendered a practical illustration of the doctrines maintained by the legislature unnecessary. The recurrence of a similar crisis, and the actual state of the executive power, need hardly be adverted to.

Such were the proceedings of the English legislature, and in which they widely differed from those of the Irish, a difference which was subsequently urged as one of the strongest reasons for incorporating the two countries, by means of a union. The calling of parliament was, in fact, delayed as long as it could be done decently; but at length it assembled, and it was soon found that all the efforts of the viceroy to secure his influence had not succeeded. They met on the 5th Feb. 1789: and it was moved by the secretary that they should adjourn till Monday the 16th of Feb. on which day both houses should go into a committee to take the state of the nation into consideration. Instead of the 16th, however, Mr. Grattan moved,

* See Appendix, No. II.

as an amendment, the 11th, which was carried by a majority of 54, the numbers being 128 to 74. The same preponderance against administration prevailed in the house of lords.

They met on the eleventh, and the great question of the regency was discussed. It had previously been endeavoured by all the means which ministerial influence could employ, to secure a majority in the Irish parliament, so that precisely the same measures, with respect to the regency, might be adopted as had been already acted upon in the British parliament. The attempt failed; however, and the consequence was, that the minister was left in a minority. Ireland, in fact, was proud of the opportunity, thus presented to her, of exercising, on an important occasion, the legislative independence she had acquired *: and it was to be expected, that she would, on this great question, exhibit a practical proof of that freedom she had so lately won.

* The probability of the course which she would pursue was anticipated by Lord Loughborough, who took the lead of opposition on this question in the house of peers. "Was it remembered," said his lordship, "that a neighbouring kingdom stood connected with us, and acknowledged allegiance to the British crown? If once the rule of regular succession were departed from by the two houses, how were they sure that the neighbouring kingdom would acknowledge the regent, whom the two houses would take upon themselves to elect? The probability was, that the neighbouring kingdom depart, in consequence of our departure, from the rule of hereditary succession, and choose a regent of their own, which must lead to endless confusion and embarrassment."

Mr. Grattan and Mr. Fitzgibbon, (the attorney general) were the two chieftains, of the opposed parties on this momentous discussion. Mr. Grattan followed in the same line of argument, as had been employed by Fox and Burke in England. The attorney general defended the proceedings of ministers. It would be unnecessary labour to recapitulate the reasonings employed on both sides; but it may be briefly observed, that Mr. Pitt's view of the question was certainly the more moderate, the more rational, and probably the more constitutional. It did not involve the principle of hereditary succession, because, if it rested merely upon that fact, it was equally unnecessary to proceed upon the plan suggested by the opposition. Why address the prince to assume functions which devolved upon him as a matter of course, had there been a natural demise of the sovereign? There certainly was a political demise, but as that political demise was a case not provided for by law, it seemed incontrovertible that the two houses of parliament were the only competent powers to supply the deficiency. To the objection urged, that the two branches of the legislature could not act, in a matter of legislation, without the concurrence of the third estate, it might be replied, that the same objection was applicable to proceeding, by the way of address, for that address, praying the Prince of Wales to take upon himself the functions of royalty, was intended to have, and would have, the effect and

operation of a law, insomuch as it would supply an admitted deficiency in the personal exercise of the royal authority by creating an efficient third estate. If there existed an inherent right in the prince to assume the office of regent, the same as there would undoubtedly have existed an inherent right to the throne in the case of the natural demise of the crown, it was manifestly absurd to talk of *creating* that right by the interposition of any foreign power: and, if there did not exist any such inherent right, in his royal highness, a proposition admitted by the opposition who proposed to *invest* him with the right by address, then it was certainly competent to the two houses of parliament, in proceeding to supply the deficiency in the executive, to adopt which ever course might seem in their wisdom best calculated to meet the emergency. The extraordinary power thus accidentally thrown into the hands of parliament arose out of the necessity of the case, and was to be limited by that necessity; and perhaps it would have been a wise measure in parliament, immediately upon the restoration of the royal authority, if they had proceeded to provide, by legislative enactment, against a similar contingency, and declared the right of assuming the functions of regent, to belong, in all such cases, to the heir apparent, he being of full age and capacity to discharge the duties of the station. As, however, there existed on the statute book no law at the time we are speaking of, which pointed out

the course of proceeding under such a circumstance, and as neither the principle nor practice of the constitution regarded the heir apparent to the throne as possessing any *inherent* right to the crown but by the natural demise of the existing holder, it followed, as a matter of course, that no other than the august power of parliament could supply the temporary deficiency, and to that power equally belonged the mode of supplying it.

Mr. Grattan, urged every argument in support of his view of the question, which in his comprehensive mind could devise; and concluded an able speech with moving *, that an humble address be presented to his royal highness to take upon himself the government of this realm, during the continuation of his majesty's present indisposition, and no longer, and under the style and title of prince regent of Ireland, in the name of his majesty, to exercise and administer, according to the laws and constitution of this kingdom, all regal powers, jurisdiction and prerogatives to the crown and government thereof belonging. The attorney general opposed this motion with singular firmness and ability; but it was supported by so many who had hitherto voted for government, that the minister did not dare go to a division, and it was accordingly carried without one. A similar motion was made by Lord Charlemont, in the lords, and carried by a majority of nineteen.

* See Appendix, No. III.

160 *The viceroy refuses to transmit the address.*

This address, thus forced upon the ministry, met with every official obstruction that could be thrown in the way of its final destination. When both houses waited upon the lord lieutenant with it, and requested him to transmit it to his royal highness, his excellency refused to comply, upon the grounds, that his sense of his official duty and of the oath he had taken, prevented him from laying an address before the prince, purporting to invest his royal highness with powers to assume the government of the realm, before he should be enabled by law so to do. In consequence of this refusal, Mr. Grattan moved, that a competent number of members should be appointed to present it to his royal highness. This motion was carried by a majority of 130 against 74. The lords appointed the Duke of Leinster, and Lord Charlemont, and the commons, Messrs. Conolly, J. O'Neil, W. B. Ponsonby, and J. Stewart, commissioners, to present the address to the prince of Wales. This committee arrived in London, on the 25th Feb. 1789, and the day following presented their address to the prince of Wales at Carlton House. By this time, however, the convalescent state of his majesty rendered the purport of it of no avail, but the answers returned by his royal highness, may be seen in the appendix *.

Meanwhile Mr. Brownlow proposed a short money bill, in order to prevent the lord lieutenant

* See Appendix, No. IV.

from exercising his right of proroguing or dissolving the parliament. The attorney general observed, upon this, that it reminded him of Lord Townshend's proroguing the parliament. He recollected, when next they met, they voted him an address of thanks, which address cost the nation half a million of money. He hoped, never again to see half a million of the people's money employed to procure an address from their representatives*. Such was an Irish parliament!

- at that time, perhaps, the most corrupt public body existing in the universe! The majority of its members acted upon a system of open and avowed profligacy. Thus, when it was thought the Prince of Wales would become regent, and bring his friends into power, the Marquis of Buckingham, whose recall was confidently calculated on, was, not only deserted by his venal satellites, but reviled by them.

* This shameless threat of parliamentary venality was thus forcibly alluded to by Mr. Grattan in his Answer to Lord Clare's Speech, p. 18. "Half a million or more was expended some years ago to break an opposition: the same, or greater sum may be necessary now; so said the principal servant of the crown. The house heard him; I heard him: he said it, standing on his legs, to an astonished and indignant nation, and he said it in the most extensive sense of bribery and corruption. The threat was proceeded on; the peerage was sold; the castles of corruption were every where: in the lobby, in the street, on the steps, and at the door of every parliamentary leader, whose thresholds were worn by the members of the then administration, offering titles to some, amnesty to others, and corruption to all."

Mr. Grattan obtained three triumphs against the ministers: but mark the difference when it appeared that his majesty's recovery was likely, and the continuance of the same men in power, certain. That same distinguished patriot, eager and anxious to avail himself of the new born zeal of his political converts, immediately pressed, in parliament, the consideration of all those topics most loudly called for by the popular feeling, viz. the police bill, the pension bill, a place bill, a responsibility bill, and an absentee bill. Upon each of these measures he was successively left in decreasing minorities. The king had recovered, and the "caitiffs of corruption" recovered also their wonted alacrity for place, power and profit. On the 25th of May, 1789, the parliament was prorogued.

No other event of importance occurred during the administration of the Marquis of Buckingham. He had become extremely unpopular, because he was the decided supporter of Mr. Pitt's system of government. To this radical cause of discontent were added some minor ones. Notwithstanding his boasted principles of economy, he had resorted to a very liberal scheme of corruption, in order to beat down a formidable opposition, and he had been successful. He increased the pension list 13,000 per annum; and excited general disgust by the marked manner in which he resumed (if resumable) all places and profits that were in the possession of those who had voted for the address to the Prince of Wales. Extraordinary marks of

favour were also bestowed upon those who had supported government on that occasion. A creation of eight peerages took place, and numerous new appointments were made. Among the latter was the elevation of the Attorney General (Fitzgibbon) to the office of lord chancellor, vacant by the death of Lord Lifford; and it is remarkable that he was the first Irishman who had ever been raised to that dignity. But he had rendered eminent service to government: he took his stand in the breach with undaunted courage, and fearlessly opposed himself to the united forces of opposition, strengthened, in the manner already related, by the expected dominion of the Prince of Wales.

The increasing unpopularity of the viceroy and the hopelessness of ever regaining that confidence which accompanied his first arrival under Lord Shelburne, or his last, when the memory of past services quickened men's expectation of future good, induced him to think of his departure, which accordingly took place on the 30th June, 1789, when the new Chancellor Fitzgibbon, and Mr. Foster the Speaker were sworn in lords justices. His excellency took shipping from Mr. Lea's villa at the Black Rock; and it was remarked if he had departed publicly his retreat would have been accompanied with very different symptoms to what attended his arrival.

CHAP. VI.

Administration of the Earl of Westmoreland—Convenes the parliament—Mr. Grattan's character of the Marquis of Buckingham's administration—The French Revolution—Its influence upon certain persons in England—Eulogy of Mr. Pitt's conduct on that momentous occasion—The catholics assemble—United Irishmen of Belfast and Dublin—Commencement of catholic relief—Proceedings in parliament on this subject—Parliament prorogued.

THE Earl of Westmoreland was appointed as successor to the Marquis of Buckingham, and he met, the parliament on the 21st Jan. 1790 *. The whole of the session was chiefly occupied in the unsuccessful efforts of the popular party to obtain certain leading questions which they considered as of vital importance. When the address was moved, Mr. Grattan strongly marked his disapprobation of the late administration, and among other brilliant touches drew the following

* About this time the Dublin Whig Club was instituted, under the auspices of Lord Charlemont, for an account of which see Appendix, No. V.

highly animated picture of its prominent features.

“ Such has been the conduct of your reformer. This was the man. You remember his entry into the capital, trampling on the hearse of the Duke of Rutland, and seated in a triumphal car, drawn by public credulity, on one side fallacious hope, and on the other many mouthed profession; a figure with two faces, one turned to the treasury, and the other presented to the people, and with a double tongue speaking contradictory languages.

“ The minister alights: justice looks up to him with empty hopes, and speculation faints with idle alarms. He finds the city a prey to an unconstitutional police;—he continues it:—he finds the country overburthened with a shameful pension list;—he increases it; he finds the house of commons swarming with placemen; he multiplies them; he finds the salary of the secretary increased to prevent a pension; he grants a pension;—he finds the kingdom drained by absentee employments, and by compensations to buy them home—he gives the best reversion in the country to an absentee—his brother! he finds the government at different times, had disgraced itself by creating sinecures, to gratify corrupt affection—he makes two commissioners of the rolls, and gives one to another brother;—he finds the second council to the commissioners put down, because useless;—he revives it; he finds the

boards of accounts and stamps annexed by public compact; he divides them; he finds three resolutions, declaring that seven commissioners are sufficient—he makes nine; he finds the country has suffered by some peculations in the ordnance; he increases the salaries of offices, and gives the places to members; to members of parliament.”

Nothing, of importance, was effected during this session, though many attempts were made, by the opposition, to carry certain strong measures. On the 5th, April 1790, the parliament was prorogued, and on the 8th, of the same month it was dissolved. The new parliament was summoned to meet on the 20th, of May, but before that time it was further prorogued to the 10th, of July, when it met for dispatch of business. The session lasted only 14 days, and the only purport of its sitting was to obtain a vote of credit for 200,000*l*. That accomplished, it was again prorogued, and did not meet for the dispatch of business till the 20th of Jan. 1791.

The interval was employed by the viceroy, in endeavours to acquire popularity, and by his secretary (Mr. Hobart, now Earl of Buckinghamshire) in a visit to England; in order to concert with the minister, the plan of operations to be pursued in the next parliamentary campaign. One of the methods pursued by the viceroy in his exertions to become popular was, that both he and his lady always appeared clad in Irish manu-

factures on all solemn occasions. Another plan, and which it is said, highly gratified the people of Dublin and secured their affections, was permitting the *Beggar's Opera* to be performed in that city. Lord Buckingham it seems had prohibited it. How cheap a thing is public love, when a few songs can purchase it!

At this period (1791) the principles upon which the French revolution had been accomplished, and upon which that stupendous event was still proceeding, began to produce visible effects in the British dominions. Liberty was the fond word that beguiled the early admirers of that revolution; and in the generous enthusiasm with which they contemplated and sympathized with a whole people, rising in their strength to shake off the chains that bowed them to the earth, something may be pardoned in consideration of the noble and honourable motive that unquestionably impelled many among them. But these many, the greater part of whom have since abandoned the cause they so warmly advocated, because the delusion was dispelled, and they saw in every subsequent step of that mighty convulsion, a sanguinary spirit, roaming through the land, seeking whom it might devour; hostile to the freedom that nourished and gave it birth, and cradling a gigantic despotism in billows of blood:—these many, thus happily won from their error, by the stern aspect of the times that followed, were not the only ones who embraced with avidity the form of de-

mocracy as presented to them by the authors and promoters of that lamentable tragedy.

In every country there may be found the factious, the seditious, and the discontented, and in no country so certainly as in that where liberty prevails, and a man may discharge his foul and peevish humours unchecked. England was not without these clamorous and discontented spirits, to whose existence strife and tumult seem essentially requisite, and who languish in the idleness of peace and contentment. Eager for change, because no change could make their condition worse, or, because every change held out the prospect, to a restless and feverish ambition, of exalting their own greatness upon the ruins of all that was already noble, or worthy, or valuable, or respectable in society, they watched with a prophetic eye the first symptoms of that tremendous explosion which shook the ancient dynasties of Europe to their centres, and spread ruin and confusion throughout the world. The faint and distant echoes of the vast explosion were hailed by them, as the precursors of a new order of things, in which, new order, as all the existing foundations of civil society were likely to be reversed, they hoped, and not unwisely, they might be elevated by the fury of the tempest, borne along by the eddying current of the torrent, and look down for a while at least, upon prostrate dignities, and crowns, and realms, and authorities.

In these men it was no genuine love or admira-

ration of liberty that swayed them. France might have been enslaved, if England could be revolutionized, and they would not have breathed one sigh over her bondage. They worshipped her struggles because they led to anarchy, and in anarchy there was hope for them. With panting eagerness they inhaled every breeze that wafted from the Gallic shore tidings of massacre, tumult and insurrection. With outstretched arms they received the apostles of rebellion who sought our coast to preach their abhorred and fatal doctrines; with fiery zeal, with ardour that mocked persecution, with energy that a better cause would have dignified and ennobled, they laboured in the insidious and malignant cause of propagating the new faith. They trod faithfully in the steps of their instructors: they did not betray the fatal interests committed to their keeping. Converts sprung up on all sides; converts whom credulity, fanaticism or sedition, had prepared for the imposing novelties of political regeneration. The country swarmed with proselytes, teeming with speculative rebellion and theoretical sacrilege. The auspicious moment for practice was fast arriving, when England might have perished in the madness of popular regeneration, if one man, great in his means and greater in his ends, had not arose, and by the vigour of his single arm saved his country from utter perdition. That man was WILLIAM PITT. A greater never graced the annals of any nation. In his compre-

170 *Effects of the French revolution on Ireland.*

hensive mind he foresaw all the miserable evils, a deluded people were preparing for themselves; in the undaunted firmness of his character he found the only quality necessary to give efficacy to the powerful scheme of redemption, which his genius had created. Unawed by threats, unchecked by hostility, unmoved by clamour, he fearlessly wielded the destinies of his country in a perilous moment, and saved her. It was impossible he could subdue a monstrous confederacy to subvert the nation without creating a host of enemies: it was impossible he could thwart the pernicious designs of a desperate faction without turning upon himself the full measure of that wrath which detected guilt hurls at the innocent. He had his traducers, he had his enemies, open and concealed; but it is one source of pride and consolation to reflect, that the most inveterate of his opponents were to be found among those who had been leagued together for the accomplishment of a purpose which his wisdom, energy and fortitude frustrated and destroyed. The fury of disappointed malice vented itself in obstinate and persevering acrimony, against the author of its humiliation and defeat.

Ireland did not escape the madness of the times; and it is now our melancholy duty to record a series of transactions springing originally from that madness which disgraced and afflicted this country for many years.

The influence of this utter derangement of

social order, religion and intellect, first displayed itself in the catholic body. On the 11th of Feb. 1791, a meeting of the general committee of the catholics was convened at Dublin, and after some deliberations they came to the unanimous resolution, of applying for such relief as the wisdom and justice of parliament might grant. But, the seeds of discord were sown among the members composing this body, from the malign influence of the French revolution. About three-score of the principal country gentlemen, in conjunction with the Earl of Fingall, Lord Kenmare, and some of the dignified and other clergy, had, that year, seceded from the committee, under an apprehension of its being too closely connected with the patriots of the north, and not wholly unfriendly to the principles of the French revolution. This opinion soon spread abroad, and did much real mischief to the legitimate objects contemplated by the catholics; and they became hence divided into two distinct parties, the aristocratic and the democratic; a fatal distinction, which furnished their enemies with a watch word to misrepresent whatever was really moderate and sincere in their pretensions. It afforded also an opportunity for the operation of those unquiet spirits, which always step forth, ready to act, upon the slightest appearance of tumult and dissention. Consequently, when those respectable individuals seceded, from conscientious motives no doubt, from the catholic committee, other individuals, (Theobald Wolfe Tone, Todd Jones,

&c.) of a more equivocal description, made a voluntary tender of their services to the catholic committee, and published some strong resolutions declaratory of the necessity for repealing all restrictive laws against the catholics. The language assumed was bold and indicative of turbulent designs, and could not but excite the vigilance and jealousy of government.

The impulse was now given: the career was continuous. The ferment produced by the volunteer associations had not wholly subsided, and its remaining vigour was now enlisted in the cause of universal freedom, as the new liberators of the human race denominated their sacred cause. The next visible effect of this silently operating, and widely diffused feeling, was the circulation, in Dublin, of a paper purporting to contain the design of an association at Belfast, to be called the Society of United Irishmen. This was in June, 1791, and in the same month the Roman catholics published a declaration of their tenets and claims, in order to remove prejudices, and spirit up the exertions of their friends in their cause. The contagion of example was rapid and uniform. In November a similar society of united Irishmen, was formed in Dublin, of which Mr. James Napper Tandy, was secretary, and Mr. Simon Butler, chairman. Their declaration was the same as that of Belfast, but they had a test annexed to it.

On the 19th of January, 1792, the parliament met, and on the 25th, Sir Hercules Langrishe,

rose, according to notice, to bring forward some resolutions in favour of the catholics. This gentleman acted, very considerably, in concert with Edmund Burke, between whom a strict correspondence existed upon political subjects. On this one, of catholic relief, there is an admirable epistle from Burke to Sir Hercules, in the ninth volume, (8vo.) of his posthumous works recently published. The speech with which the worthy baronet prefaced his motion on the present occasion, wanted neither eloquence nor argument. He assumed however a tone of greater moderation than had usually been observed, and the cause was frankly stated by Sir Hercules to be the unadvised and foolish connection which had been made, by some, of democratic principles with the genuine cause of the suffering catholics. He asserted, however, that not a single sentiment of that tendency was really entertained by the catholic body, but that they renounced and utterly disclaimed them. There was not any class of his majesty's subjects more truly attached than they were to the monarchy and hereditary succession; more obedient to the laws or more devoted to the king and constitution as by law established. He recapitulated the various concessions that had, at different times, been made to the catholics, and argued, from these, as to the policy of extending those concessions. To what extent they should be carried, appeared to him the only subject that

174 *Propositions moved by Sir H. Langrishe.*

could divide the opinion of the house, for he apprehended there must be a unanimity of opinion as to the principle itself. His own view of the case was comprehended in the following propositions:

1st. He would give the practice and profession of the law, as a reasonable provision, and application of their talents to their own country.

2dly. He would restore to them education, entire and unrestrained; because a state of ignorance was a state of barbarity: that would be accomplished by taking off the necessity for a license as enjoined by the act of 1782.

3dly. He would draw closer the bonds of intercourse and affection, by allowing intermarriage; repealing that cruel statute, which served to betray female credulity, and bastardize the children of a virtuous mother.

4thly. He would remove those obstructions to arts and manufactures, that limited the number of apprentices, which were so necessary to assist and promote trade. He then moved, "that leave be given to bring in a bill for removing certain restraints and disabilities, under which his majesty's Roman catholic subjects labour from statutes already in force." The motion was seconded by Mr. Hobart, without any observations. Leave was given, and a committee appointed accordingly, to preface the same, without one dissentient voice.

As soon as this measure was thus disposed of,

Mr. O'Hara rose, and having expressed his entire approbation of what had been done, suggested that it would be a prudent course to pursue, if the house were to endeavour to ascertain what it was precisely that the catholics wished in the way of concession. He believed it would enable them to legislate upon a more secure basis, and for that reason he had acceded to the request of a particular friend, (Mr. R. Burke), who was *not* a Roman catholic, that he would lay a petition before the house, containing that precise statement. He (Mr. O'Hara) did not know the petitioners, but he knew the integrity of his friend, and he had his assurance that they were, altogether, worth upwards of a million; a fact which he mentioned to shew their respectability. The petitioners, after stating the particulars in which they hoped for relief, promised to acquiesce in whatever relief parliament might think proper to give them. The solicitor general said the petition, in its present state of abandonment, could be no object of notice, and he should therefore move the question of adjournment. Mr. Grattan supported the receiving the petition, and closed an able speech with the following words, stimulated by the uncourteous treatment which a petition signed by so numerous, and so respectable a part of the community, was likely to experience. "Whatever" said he, "you give to Roman catholics, give it liberally; whatever you refuse, refuse decently; whatever you do, do it

176 *Resolutions of the catholic committee.*

with discretion; whatever you say, let it be the language of decency and good manners." Mr. O'Hara withdrew the petition, on account of its alleged informality, and promised to present a similar one, but without any informality attached to it, on a future day.

The general committee of Roman catholics was anxious to co-operate effectually with Sir Hercules Langrishe, who was known to act with the immediate approbation of government. Accordingly, on the 4th February, 1792, they entered unanimously into the following resolutions, calculated to counteract misrepresentation and calumny.

"Resolved, That this committee has been informed, that reports have been circulated, that the application of catholics for relief extends to unlimited and total emancipation; and that attempts have been made wickedly and falsely to instil into the minds of the protestants of this kingdom an opinion that our applications were preferred in a tone of menace.

"Resolved, That several protestant gentlemen have expressed great satisfaction on being individually informed of the real extent and respectful manner of the applications for relief; have assured us that nothing could have excited jealousy, or apparent opposition to us, from our protestant countrymen but the abovementioned misapprehensions.

"Resolved, That we therefore deem it necessary to declare, that the whole of our late appli-

cations, whether to his majesty's ministers, to men in power, or to private members of the legislature, as well as our intended petition, neither did nor does contain any thing, or extend further, either in substance or in principle, than the four following objects:

1. Admission to the profession and practice of the law.

2. Capacity to serve in county magistracies.

3. A right to be summoned and to serve on grand and petty juries.

4. The right of voting in counties only for protestant members of parliament, in such a manner, however, as that a Roman catholic freeholder should not vote, unless he either rented and cultivated a farm of twenty pounds per annum, in addition to his forty-shillings freehold, or else possessed a freehold to the amount of £20. a year.

Resolved, That in our opinion, these applications, not extending to any other objects than the above, are moderate, and absolutely necessary for our general alleviation, and more particularly for the protection of the catholic farmers and the peasantry of Ireland; and that they do not, in any degree, endanger either church or state, or endanger the security of the protestant interests.

Resolved, That we never had an idea or thought so extravagant as that of menacing or

intimidating our protestant brethren, much less the legislature; and that we disclaim the violent and turbulent intentions imputed to us in some of the public prints, and circulated in private conversation,

“ *Resolved*, That we refer to the known disposition of the Roman catholics in this kingdom, to our dutiful behaviour during a long series of years, and particularly to the whole tenor of our late proceedings, for the full refutation of every charge of sedition and disloyalty.

• “ *Resolved*, That for the more ample and detailed exposure of all the evil reports and calumnies circulated against us, an address to our protestant fellow-subjects, and to the public in general, be printed by the order and in the name of the general committee.”

On the very day that these moderate and well-timed resolutions were passed by the general committee, Sir Hercules Langrishe introduced his bill, which was read and ordered to be printed. The great body of the catholics, however, was but little satisfied with the provisions of this bill, and more especially because they entertained a notion that a more comprehensive one was originally intended, but afterwards abandoned in consequence of the intrigues of some artful, and the weak alarms of some credulous people. While the measure, therefore, was in progress through the legislature, the committee drew up the following petition, calculated to remove cer-

tain existing prejudices, and which was signed by fifty of the most respectable catholic commercial characters of Dublin. It was presented by Mr. Egan, and ordered to lie on the table.

“ To the Right Hon. the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, in Parliament assembled.

“ The petition of the undersigned Roman Catholics, in behalf of themselves, and the Roman Catholics of Ireland,

“ Humbly sheweth,

“ That as the house has thought it expedient to direct their attention to the situation of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and to a further relaxation of the penal statutes still subsisting against them, they beg leave, with all humility, to come before the house with the most heartfelt assurance of the wisdom and justice of parliament, which is at all times desirous most graciously to attend to the petitions of the people: they therefore humbly presume to submit to the house their entreaty, that they should take into their consideration whether the removal of some of the civil incapacities under which they labour, and the restoration of the petitioners to some share in the elective franchise, which they enjoyed long, after the Revolution, will not tend to strengthen the protestant state, add new vigour to industry, and afford protection and happiness

180 *Failure of the application to parliament.*

to the catholics of Ireland; that the petitioners refer with confidence to their conduct for a century past to prove their uniform loyalty and submission to the laws, and to corroborate their solemn declaration, that if they obtain from the justice and benignity of parliament such relaxation from certain incapacities, and a participation in that franchise, which will raise them to the rank of freemen, their gratitude must be proportioned to the benefit; and that enjoying some share in the happy constitution of Ireland, they will exert themselves with additional zeal in its conservation."

This petition did not accomplish its object, for when the catholic question came to be regularly discussed, every one limited his notions of concession to the boundaries laid down in the bill, and many, not satisfied with that, entered into specific pledges never to concede the elective franchise, which they deemed incompatible with the protestant ascendancy in Ireland. It is needless to add, that Mr. Grattan supported the bill, though instructed by his constituents, the corporation of Dublin, to oppose it; but he was too firm a patriot to sacrifice the rights of four millions of his fellow-subjects to the bigoted and ill-founded prejudices of a few. This conduct on the part of Mr. Grattan was likewise a practical answer to an absurd notion entertained by some political writers, that a member of parliament is

to be bound by what he knows to be the wishes and desires of his constituents. But the principles and the practice of the constitution are alike hostile to this doctrine, for every man who sits in parliament is presumed to exercise his free and unbiassed judgment upon all questions coming before him, and to legislate, not only for the particular community that sends him there, but for the empire at large, whose collected interests are entrusted to the general body of representatives. A contrary system would convert the parliament of the nation into an assembly of deputies, each acting for his own constituent body, and none acting for the aggregate concerns of the realm.

The bill finally passed without any essential alteration, and afterwards several other popular measures were brought forward by the opposition, but none of them were successful. The state of parties was much the same as in the preceding session. When the money-bills were carried up to the lords, the speaker addressed the lord-lieutenant in an adulatory speech, strongly inculcating the necessity of keeping up the protestant ascendancy, and with it the continuance of the many blessings the kingdom then enjoyed. On the 13th April, 1792, parliament was prorogued, when his excellency assured both houses, "that he had his majesty's commands to express his approbation of the wisdom that had guided their proceedings during the present session, espe-

182 *The British cabinet favourable to the catholics.*

cially in the liberal indulgences they had afforded to their Roman catholic brethren."

This declaration on the part of government was regarded by the catholics as a convincing proof that the British cabinet was really more favourable to their claims than a considerable portion of their own countrymen, and they were consequently encouraged to persevere in their efforts after more comprehensive concessions.

CHAP. VII.

Further progress of the catholic claims—Declaration of the general committee—Instructions sent round, inviting a deputation of catholic delegates from all parts of Ireland—Alarm excited by this intended system of delegation—Different high sheriffs and counties publish resolutions against it—Catholic cause injured by its being identified with other societies—Government watchful over its proceedings—Answers of different catholic universities upon certain doctrines imputed to the catholics—Formation of various clubs—Petition from the catholics to the king.

WHEN any body of men are struggling for an attainable good it is not often that they will rest satisfied with half measures, or that, while any portion of what they desire is yet ungranted, they will wholly desist from endeavours to complete the gratification of their wants. This feeling, so natural to human nature, has been made a subject of reproach against the Roman catholics of Ireland, who have been accused of discontent because every concession they have obtained has only led the way to fresh demands; but before

184 *Artifices employed against the catholics.*

this was urged against them as an offence it was incumbent upon their accusers to shew that every reasonable grant had been made to that persecuted body, and that what they still persisted in demanding was neither reasonable, legal, nor just. Their opponents, however, very wisely forbore from arguing on these points, and were satisfied if they could provoke a feeling of popular indignation by holding up the catholics as a restless, discontented body, whom nothing could satisfy short of absolute dominion and ascendancy.

Nor was this the only artifice employed against them by their enemies. They were equally diligent in asserting, that the ulterior and real views of the catholics were to accomplish a sort of emancipation that was inconsistent with the safety of the established authority, and that, in fact, there existed an inherent, an intrinsic character about catholicism, which was necessarily hostile to civil freedom and to a protestant hierarchy. This was a formidable engine of delusion; it was admirably fitted to work upon men's fancies; and by rousing in their minds phantoms of unreal danger, indefinite notions of mysterious and obscure evils, it served to generate a sentiment of hostility in the popular voice against all concession in principle, which sycophants in power, and demagogues out of power, might equally use against the fundamental rights of the majority of the nation.

To counteract the malignant influence of these

insidious reports; which were circulated and exaggerated with ceaseless industry, the catholic body adopted a plan at once dignified, moderate, and becoming. They published the following declaration of their tenets, which was signed, generally, by the catholics of all descriptions throughout the kingdom, clergy and laity. It received the warm approbation of their supporters, and it imposed silence on many of their opponents. The reader will admit that it was precisely calculated to produce this effect.

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

Dublin, March 17, 1792.

Declaration of the Catholics of Ireland.

“Whereas certain opinions and principles, inimical to good order and government, have been attributed to the catholics, the existence of which we utterly deny; and whereas it is at this time peculiarly necessary to remove such imputations, and to give the most full and ample satisfaction to our protestant brethren, that we hold no principle whatsoever incompatible with our duty as men or subjects, or repugnant to liberty, whether political, civil, or religious.

“Now we, the catholics of Ireland, for the removal of all such imputations, and in deference to the opinion of many respectable bodies of men and individuals among our protestant brethren, do hereby, in the face of our country, of all

Europe, and before God, make this our deliberate and solemn declaration.

“ 1st. We abjure, disavow, and condemn, the opinion that princes, excommunicated by the pope and council, *or by any ecclesiastical authority whatsoever may therefore be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other persons.* We hold such doctrine in detestation as wicked and impious; and we declare that we do not believe, that either the pope, with or without a general council, or any *prelate or priest or any ecclesiastical power, whatsoever*, can absolve the subjects of this kingdom or any of them, from their allegiance to his majesty king George the third, who is by authority of parliament the lawful king of this realm.

“ 2dly. We abjure, condemn and detest, as unchristian and impious, the principle, that it is lawful to murder, destroy, or any ways injure any person whatsoever, for or under the pretence of being heretics, and we declare solemnly before God, that we believe that *no act in itself unjust, immoral or wicked, can ever be justified or excused, by or under pretence or colour, that it was done either for the good of the church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever.*

“ 3rd. We further declare that we hold it as an unchristian and impious principle, that ‘ no faith is to be kept with heretics.’ This doctrine we detest and reprobate, not only as *contrary* to our religion, but as destructive of morality, of society,

and even of common honesty, and it is our firm belief that an oath made to *any* person not of the catholic religion is equally binding as if it were made to any catholic whatsoever.

“ 4th. We have been charged with holding as an article of our belief, that the pope, with or without the authority of a general council, or that certain ecclesiastical powers can acquit and absolve us, before God, from our oath of allegiance or even from the just oaths and contracts entered into between man and man.

“ Now we do utterly renounce, abjure and deny that we hold or maintain any such belief as being contrary to the peace and happiness of society, inconsistent with morality and above all repugnant to *the true spirit of the catholic religion.*

“ 5th. We do further declare that we do not believe that the pope of Rome or any prince, prelate, state or potentate, hath or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly within this realm.

“ 6th. After what we have renounced, it is immaterial in a political light, what may be our opinion or faith in other points respecting the pope: however, for greater satisfaction we declare that it is *not* an article of the catholic faith, neither are we thereby required to believe or profess ‘ that the pope is infallible,’ or that we are bound to obey any order in its own nature immoral, though the pope or any ecclesiastical power should issue or

direct such order, but, *on the contrary*; we hold that it would be *sinful* in us to pay any respect or obedience thereto.

“ 7th. We farther declare, that we do not believe, that any sin whatsoever committed by us can be forgiven at the mere will of any pope, or of any priest, or of any person or persons whatsoever, but that *sincere sorrow for past sins*, a *firm and sincere resolution*, as far as may be in our power, to restore our neighbour's property or character, if we have trespassed on, or unjustly injured either; *a firm and sincere resolution to avoid future guilt*, and to atone to God; are *previous and indispensable* requisites to establish a well founded expectation of forgiveness; and that any person who receives absolution without these previous requisites, so far from obtaining thereby any remission of his sins, incurs the additional guilt of violating a sacrament.

“ 8th. We do hereby solemnly disclaim, and forever renounce all interests in and title to all forfeited lands, resulting from any rights or supposed rights of our ancestors, or any claim, title, or interest therein; nor do we admit any title as a foundation of right which is *not established and acknowledged by the laws of the realm, as they now stand*. We desire further, that whenever the patriotism, liberality and justice of our countrymen, shall restore to us a participation in the elective franchise, no catholic shall be permitted to vote at any election for members to serve in

parliament, until he shall previously take an oath to defend to the utmost of his power, the arrangement of property in this country, as established by the different acts of attainder and settlement.

“ 9th. It has been objected to us that we wish to subvert the present church establishment, for the purpose of substituting a catholic establishment in its stead: now we do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any such intention, and further, if we shall be admitted into any share of the constitution, by being restored to the right of elective franchise, we are ready, in the most solemn manner to declare, that we will not exercise that privilege to disturb, and weaken the establishment of the protestant religion, or protestant government in this country.

“ Signed by order and on behalf of the general committee of the catholics of Ireland.

EDWARD BYRNE, *Chairman,*

RICH. Mc’CORMICK, *Secretary.*

It was justly anticipated by the catholics, that these unequivocal declarations upon most, if not all, the great points of alarm among the credulous, and of charge among the factious, would much facilitate the accomplishment of their wishes. They had so much to obtain however, and what they had to obtain was of such magnitude, that no relaxation in their efforts could safely be admitted. It was indispensi-

bly necessary that their own zeal and activity should at least be equal to that displayed by their opponents, and therefore, in addition to these declarations, they thought it wise and prudent to adopt a plan which should satisfy the nation that they spoke the language and sentiments, not of a *part* but of the *whole* catholic population. To accomplish this necessary purpose, it was evident no better plan could be imagined than one of delegation, and the committee, therefore, devised and circulated the following mode of nominating this delegation, which was forwarded, with a circular letter, to the different counties.

“ It will be of great importance, in the present state of our affairs, that the delegates be chosen in such a manner, as to make it appear evident, that the nomination of such delegates is authorised by all the people. But, as it might be imprudent to call a meeting of all the catholics, of a county, for the purpose of proceeding to such an election, it is therefore suggested, that one or two of the most respectable persons in each parish be appointed electors, at a meeting to be held at such private house in the parish, as may be most convenient to the inhabitants. These several electors, so appointed, may meet at any central place, for the purpose of choosing from one to four, (as it may appear most expedient to them,) of their own residents, as delegates to the general committee; no one to be eligible, who shall not solemnly promise to attend his duty in

Dublin, when required to do so by order of the committee, or at least who shall not pledge himself to attend in his turn. It is also suggested, that, in addition to the resident delegates, each county do appoint at the same time, as associate delegates for such county, or two (as it may appear best to the electors) resident inhabitants of Dublin, whose business it shall be to keep up a regular correspondence with colleagues in the country, and to inform the county through them, of all the proceedings in the general committee at such times as the county delegates shall be absent. It is to be understood, that attendance on the part of the county delegates, will not be required, except on important occasions. In this, however, they are to study their own convenience; if they all come often, we are persuaded the committee will derive satisfaction and profit from their presence and advice.

“As soon as the delegates of your county shall have appointed delegates, it will be necessary to call their attention to the first great business which shall probably engage the general committee. viz. An humble application to our gracious sovereign, submitting to him our loyalty and attachment, our obedience to the laws, a true statement of our situation and of the laws which operate against us: and humbly beseeching that we may be restored to the elective franchise, and an equal participation in the benefits of the trial by jury. We have the first authority

for asserting that this application will have infinite weight with our gracious sovereign; and with parliament, if our friends are qualified to declare that it is the universal wish of every catholic in the nation. To enable, therefore, your delegates and the general committee, to succeed in your behalf it will be necessary that the meetings enter into resolutions in any words they chuse to the following effect:—

“ At a meeting of the catholics of the county of _____, regularly convened this _____ day of _____ 1792, _____ in the chair, resolved that, _____ of this county, and _____ of the city of Dublin, have been this day chosen by the catholics of this county as their delegates to the general committee.

“ Resolved.—That it is our instruction to our said delegates, to support in said committee, as the voice of all the catholics of this county, that an humble representation be made to our gracious sovereign, and to parliament; of the many severe laws which oppress his majesty's faithful subjects, the catholics of Ireland, although no cause founded in wisdom, or policy, is assigned for their continuance; imploring it as essential to our protection, and to secure an impartial distribution of justice in our favour, that we be restored to the elective franchise, and an equal participation in the benefits of the trial by jury.

" According to its present form of constitution, the general committee is open not only to persons delegated by others, but to every Roman catholic of landed property in the kingdom. From this mixture of representative and personal association, inconveniences which every one may remember, but which at present, it is useless to dwell on, have arisen. To guard against similar inconveniences in future we have recommended to your consideration, the above sketch of a new system; the object of which is to give to the committee, somewhat more of a representative, and somewhat less of an individual capacity: and we beg leave to offer to you the following observations in support of our plan.

" Men appointed by others must hold themselves accountable to those from whom they derive their trust, and therefore must regulate their conduct by the standard of general opinion; or, if they be unwilling to take such a standard for their rule, and to obey the instructions of their constituents; they may be removed from the places they hold, to make room for others more practicable, and less inclined to set the dictates of private sentiment, or private interest in opposition to the general will, and the public good. Under a system which is thus representative, and where the trust is revocable at pleasure, seduction cannot be practised, nor can division again take place; or at least the remedy is so near the

evil that little danger is to be apprehended from either.

“ Our plan, by making attendance a duty, will we apprehend, serve to bring a greater number of country gentlemen into the committee, than have formerly appeared among us. While admission remains so easy as it does at present, and while so many persons are exempted from responsibility and control, we have little reason to expect that country gentlemen will desert their homes, and their immediate concerns to promote an interest which is remotely or obscurely felt; but we hope that the honourable distinction of representing others added to the obligation of a solemn promise, will not fail to reconcile those, who shall happen to be delegated, to admit of some temporary hardships in order to promote the public good. By collecting occasionally a number of country gentlemen in Dublin, we flatter ourselves that the committee will be enabled to speak the sentiments of its constituent members with distinctness and precision; and that the country parts of the kingdom will be provided with the surest means of acquiring whatever information may be necessary on the subject of catholic affairs. From this prompt communication of opinion, and intelligence, we foresee great advantages; advantages, which under the present system are wholly beyond our reach; as the landed gentlemen are responsible only to themselves, and as

the Dublin delegates have frequently little knowledge of their constituents. The attendance of a great number of country gentlemen will justify such a reduction of the number of delegates for the metropolis, in the general committee, as may be judged adviseable; a measure which was always desirable; but which could not be heretofore accomplished, as the attendance of landed gentlemen was so uncertain and irregular.

“ Every endeavour shall be used to cultivate and improve the friendship of our clergy. The clergy and laity, having but one interest, should have but one mind, and should therefore mutually combine their talents, their opinions and their exertions, in order to effectuate our common emancipation. This union of sentiment and design, this interchange of council and of aid, will serve to strengthen the bonds of a common friendship, and will be the best security against innovation, in matters which relate to religion.

“ The clergy being the natural guardians of morality, will undoubtedly consent to co-operate with the laity, when they consider that the restoration of the elective franchise to the catholic community, will tend to prevent those prejudices which are so common, at, and which disgrace the return of, electioneering contests. By such conduct will the clergy secure to themselves that influence over the laity of their own persuasion, which it is useful that good clergy should have;

196 *Concession of the elective franchise.*

and that respectability among persons of other persuasions which must naturally result from the increased importance of the people to whom they belong. It is unnecessary to point out the advantages which a restoration of the elective franchise, would produce in our habits and modes of life, in the state of national as well as individual happiness. Let it suffice to say not only laymen, but every catholic bishop and priest, would, by the acquisition of so valuable a privilege to the catholic body at large, find his condition meliorated in a variety of shapes and circumstances which cannot easily be reduced within the compass of exact calculation. The silent operation of this right would, in the lapse of time, contribute to raise a respectable yeomanry of the kingdom; and this yeomanry, giving on the one hand a new infusion of vigor to the commonwealth, would, on the other, supply a fund from which the clergy would derive the means of a more honourable support, and more proportionate to their uncommon labours and merits, than at present they enjoy.

“ When this plan shall have been adopted, and the returns in consequence made, the committee will, in the course of next winter, consider, as a measure of the last importance, what further improvements may be necessary in the mode of electing delegates on future occasions, in order to secure a permanent, extensive, and effectual me-

method of collecting the general sense of the catholics of Ireland.

“ We beg leave to recommend it to you most earnestly, to carry the above plan into immediate execution. It is of the utmost consequence that we should have this addition of country gentlemen as soon as possible, in order to give due weight and efficacy to our humble application to the throne, which we are advised to make this summer before the parliamentary arrangements are formed for the ensuing winter.

“ As soon as your delegates shall have been chosen, we request that you will make a return of their names to our secretary, Mr. Richard McCormick, Mark's Alley, Dublin.”

It might be supposed, by an impartial observer, that this plan was divested of every circumstance that could justly excite the suspicion of government or the alarm of the protestant community. It stated grievances, and suggested a probable mode of quietly obtaining their redress; yet, no sooner was it promulgated than alarm real or pretended was diffused over the country. Every hireling of government, every factious individual, every weak and credulous being, echoed the words, sedition, conspiracy, and tumult; and folly or craft predicted a repetition of the awful catastrophe of 1641. Grand juries fulminated their anathemas, meetings were held to devise plans of safety, and the popular ferment was

nourished and quickened by the sympathy of individuals high in office and station. The high sheriff and grand jury of the county of Louth led the way: they published resolutions declaring, in their wisdom, that because Ireland had flourished in commerce, liberty, and wealth, without imparting the elective franchise to catholics, it would be incompatible with the protestant establishment, and the succession to the throne in the house of Hanover, to admit the said catholics to that privilege. They were, moreover, indignant that the catholics should presume to call their penal disabilities, grievances, stigmatized the intended meeting of delegates, as "a popish congress," abhorred the seditious motives of the promoters of this congress, and pledged themselves to resist, to the utmost of their power, "such dangerous innovations." The county of Meath followed, *pari passu*. There the high sheriff, magistrates, and freeholders, denounced the circular letter as libellous and seditious, contended that the catholics felt no grievances, and affirmed that if the elective franchise was conceded to them, instead of a "protestant parliament," they would "speedily be represented by a popish convention." This wise and patriotic course was also followed by the counties of Mayo and Fermanagh, and the general alarm was echoed from all quarters in essays, paragraphs, and letters, in the periodical prints, devoted to the interests of the Castle. Counter

resolutions and addresses, were immediately issued by some grand jurymen, and many catholic bodies and the whole nation was in a ferment. Publications of a very equivocal nature began to make their appearance, and doctrines more attractive than sound were preached. A formal vindication of the conduct and principles, of the Roman catholics of Ireland, from the charges made against them was likewise published by order of the committee.

It could not but be matter of curious speculation to the government, to reflect upon the rapid increase of confidence which marked every progressive step of the catholics. A few years ago they scarcely dared to mention or allude to their grievances, they were compelled to breathe their murmurs low, lest they should offend the delicacy of official ears: but now, they spoke out, and with a lofty tone, they appealed to the justice and magnanimity of their protestant countrymen. In proportion, however, as there was supposed to exist any sympathy or connexion between the catholic committee, and the society of united Irishmen, and other political clubs that then existed, they were obnoxious to the government. And the committee, imprudently there can be no doubt, took frequent occasions of expressing their gratitude for the liberal and warm exertions of these societies in their behalf: nay, in a debate of the committee, on the 23rd of March 1792, a Mr. Keogh said that for a late publication, (the Digest of Popery Laws,) the united Irishmen, and their

respectable chairman, Mr. Simon Butler, demanded their warmest gratitude *. In thus identifying themselves with a body of men whose proceedings were decidedly factious and hostile to government, at a time, too when the greatest alarm prevailed as to the dissemination of French principles, principles which the United Irishmen openly applauded in their commemoration of the 14th July (the day of the destruction of the Bastille) the catholics did their cause much harm.

Yet, they were not inattentive to what might really serve it; for, at the express desire of Mr. Pitt, who was contemplating some relief to the English catholics, they procured from the foreign catholic universities, the following answers, respecting certain tenets imputed to them, and which if truly imputed would necessarily exclude them from the objects of their wish.

When the committee of the English catholics (for they had a committee with whom the English ministers of the crown did not disdain to communicate) waited on Mr. Pitt, he requested to be furnished with authentic evidence of the opinions of the catholic clergy, and the catholic universities abroad, "with respect to the existence and extent of the pope's dispensing power." Three questions were accordingly framed and sent to the universities of Paris, Louvain, Alcalá, Douay, Salamanca, and Valladolid, for their opinions.

* This digest was made by the order of the Society of United Irishmen.

The queries and answers are as follow:—

THE QUERIES.

1. Has the pope, or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the church of Rome, any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence whatsoever, within the realm of England?
2. Can the pope, or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the church of Rome, absolve or dispense with his majesty's subjects, from their oath of allegiance, upon any pretext whatsoever?
3. Is there any principle in the tenets of the catholic faith, by which catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transaction, either of a public or private nature?

Abstract from the answer of the Sacred Faculty of Divinity of Paris to the above Queries.

After an introduction according to the usual forms of the university, they answer the first query by declaring: Neither the pope, nor the cardinals, nor any body of men, nor any other person of the church of Rome, hath any civil authority, civil power, civil jurisdiction, or civil pre-eminence whatsoever in *any* kingdom: and, consequently, none in the kingdom of England,

1782 Answer from the Faculty of Divinity at Paris.

by reason or virtue of any authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence by divine institution inherent in, or granted, or by any other means belonging to the pope, or the church of Rome. This doctrine the Sacred Faculty of Divinity of Paris has always held, and upon every occasion has rigidly proscribed the contrary doctrines from her schools.

Answer to the second query.—Neither the pope, nor the cardinals, nor any body of men, nor any person of the church of Rome, can, by virtue of the keys, absolve or release the subjects of the king of England, from their oath of allegiance.

This and the first query are so intimately connected, that the answer of the first immediately and naturally applies to the second, &c.

Answer to the third query.—There is no tenet in the catholic church, by which catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or those who differ from them in matters of religion. The tenet, that it is lawful to break faith with heretics, is so repugnant to common honesty and the opinions of catholics, that there is nothing of which those who have defended the catholic faith against protestants, have complained more heavily, than the malice and calumny of their adversaries in imputing this tenet to them, &c. &c.

Given at Paris, in the general assembly of the Sorbonne, held on Thursday, the 11th day before the calends of March, 1789.

Signed in due form.

UNIVERSITY OF DOUAY.

January 5, 1789.

*At a Meeting of the Faculty of Divinity of the
University of Douay, &c. &c.*

To the first and second queries the Sacred Faculty, answers—That no power whatsoever, in civil or temporal concerns, was given by the Almighty, either to the pope, the cardinals, or the church herself, and, consequently, that kings and sovereigns are not in temporal concerns, subject by the ordination of God, to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever; neither can their subjects by any authority granted to the pope or the church, from above, be freed from their obedience or absolved from their oath of allegiance.

This is the doctrine which the doctors and professors of divinity hold and teach in our schools, and this all the candidates for degrees in divinity maintain in their public theses, &c. &c. &c.

To the third question the Sacred Faculty, answers—That there is no principle of the catholic faith, by which catholics are justified of not keeping faith with heretics, who differ from them in religious opinions. On the contrary, it is the unanimous doctrine of catholics, that the respect due to the name of God so called to witness, requires that the oath be inviolably kept, to whom-

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soever it is pledged, whether catholic, heretic, or infidel, &c. &c. &c.

Signed and sealed in due form,

UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN.

The faculty of divinity at Louvain, having been requested to give her opinion upon the question above stated, does it with readiness—but struck with astonishment that such questions should, at the end of this eighteenth century, be proposed to any learned body by inhabitants of a kingdom that glories in the talents and discernment of its natives. The faculty being assembled for the above purpose, it is agreed, with the unanimous assent of all voices, to answer the first and second queries absolutely in the negative.

The faculty does not think it incumbent upon her, in this place to enter upon the proofs of her opinion, or to shew how it is supported by passages in the Holy Scriptures, or the writings of antiquity. That has already been done by Bossuet, De Marca, the two Barclays, Goldastus, the Pitheuses, Argentre Widrington, and his Majesty King James the First, in his Dissertation against Bellarmine and Du Perron, and by many others, &c. &c. &c.

The faculty then proceeds to declare, that the sovereign power of the state is in no wise (nor even indirectly as it is termed) subject to, or depen-

dent upon any other power, though it be a spiritual power, or even though it be instituted for eternal salvation, &c. &c.

That no man, nor any assembly of men, however eminent in dignity and power, nor even the whole body of the catholic church, though assembled in general council, can, upon any ground or pretence whatsoever, weaken the bond of union between the sovereign and the people, still less can they absolve or free the subjects from their oath of allegiance.

Proceeding to the third question. The said faculty of divinity (in perfect wonder that such a question should be proposed to her) most positively and unequivocally answers—That there is not, and there never has been, among the catholics, or in the doctrines of the church of Rome, any law or principle which makes it lawful for catholics to break their faith with heretics, or others of a different persuasion from themselves in matters of religion, either in public or private concerns. The faculty declares the doctrine of the catholics to be, that the divine and natural law, which makes it a duty to keep faith and promises, is the same, and is neither shaken nor diminished if those with whom the engagement is made hold erroneous opinions in matters of religion, &c. &c.

Signed in due form on the 18th
November, 1788.

UNIVERSITY OF ALCALA.

To the first question it is answered—That none of the persons mentioned in the proposed question, either individually, or collectively in council assembled, have any right in civil matters; but that all civil power, jurisdiction, and pre-eminence are derived from inheritance, election, the consent of the people, and other such titles of that nature. To the second it is answered in like manner—That none of the persons above-mentioned have a power to absolve the subjects of his Britannic Majesty from their oaths of allegiance.

To the third question it is answered—That the doctrine which would exempt catholics from the obligation of keeping faith with heretics, or with any other persons who dissent from them in matters of religion, instead of being an article of catholic faith, is entirely repugnant to its tenets.

Signed in the usual form,
March 17th, 1789.

UNIVERSITY OF SALAMANCA.

To the first question it is answered—That neither pope, nor cardinals, nor any assembly or individual of the catholic church, have, as such, any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence in the kingdom of England.

To the second it is answered—That neither pope, nor cardinals, nor any assembly or indivi-

Reply from the University of Valladolid. 207.

Qual of the catholic church, can, as such, absolve the subjects of Great Britain from their oaths of allegiance, or dispense with its obligations.

To the third it is answered—That it is no article of catholic faith with heretics, or with persons of any description who dissent from them in matters of religion.

Signed in the usual form,
March 17th, 1789.

UNIVERSITY OF VALLADOLID.

To the first question it is answered—That neither pope, cardinals, nor even a general council, have any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, in the kingdom of Great Britain, or over any other kingdom or province in which they possess no temporal dominion.

To the second it is answered—That neither pope, nor cardinals, nor even a general council, can absolve the subjects of Great Britain from their oaths of allegiance, or dispense with their obligation.

To the third it is answered—That the obligation of keeping faith is grounded on the law of nature, which binds all men equally, without respect to their religious opinions; and with regard to catholics, it is still more cogent, as it is confirmed by the principles of their religion.

Signed in the usual form,
February 17th, 1789.

By this publication they conceived they had removed every reasonable object on the score of religious opinion. But they found it otherwise, and they still had to struggle against increasing acrimony of prejudice and multiplying hostilities of power and office. The circular letter, accompanying the plan of delegation, had created very general disapprobation, and they resolved to have the opinion of king's counsel upon its legality. They accordingly applied to Mr. Simon Butler and Mr. Burston, whose opinions being favourable, the committee printed and circulated them with great assiduity. Upon the strength of these opinions also the nomination of delegates throughout the kingdom went on rapidly, and the first meeting was held in Taylors' Hall, Back lane, Dublin, on the 2d December, 1792. They were hence called in derision the Back-lane parliament.

Meanwhile, government found sufficient cause for alarm in other proceedings that now began to manifest themselves. A new military body made its appearance in Dublin, denominated, in Gallic conformity, the national guard. They wore green uniforms; on their buttons a harp was engraven, surmounted, not by a crown, but the cap of liberty: a sufficiently significant emblem, and one which justified every exertion of vigilance on the part of administration. These military anarchists were extremely popular with the lower classes, who greeted their appearance, on all occasions, with shouts and tumult. The spirit of disaffection was

not confined to the capital. It diffused itself over the whole kingdom. The pernicious system of *defenderism*, as it was called, had been hitherto confined to two counties, Armagh and Louth. It now visited Meath. Here and in the adjacent parts resided a numerous class of individuals, presbyterians in their faith, and distinguished among the people, from the natives, by the appellation of Scots. Between these and the catholics interminable feuds prevailed. On both sides unseemly atrocities were committed, which only tended to aggravate feelings of disaffection already too powerful. The Peep-of-day Boys, however, prevailed over the defenders, and an indiscriminate persecution of the catholics followed. Some steps were taken to mitigate the fury of this crusade against the catholics, but it was generally rumoured, and believed, upon apparent grounds of probability, that government did not wholly disapprove of a system which effected some of its own views, while at the same time it relieved them from the odium of the measures employed.

This was the age of reforming clubs and regenerating societies. They were the madness of the time, but the duration of the paroxysm was happily short in proportion to its violence. In England associations were formed, professing for their object the accomplishment of civil freedom, and countenanced by many names of high authority. That which ostentatiously denominated itself the

"Friends of the People," numbered among its members Sheridan, Mackintosh, Erskine, Courtenay, Lord Lauderdale, Major Maitland, Messrs. Grey, Whitbread, Lambton, &c. Similar associations were formed in Scotland, and in the present year (1792) one was established in Dublin, which called itself "The Society of the Friends of the Constitution, Liberty, and Peace." The object of their association was partly tinctured with the fatuity of the times, though it must also be confessed, that, owing perhaps to the peculiar situation of Ireland, there was somewhat less of democratic madness in its essence than might be found in similar institutions in Scotland and England. The Duke of Leinster and several of the leading members of opposition belonged to this society, the spirit of which was partly manifested in a declaration which every member was obliged to subscribe, viz. "I solemnly promise and declare that I will, by all lawful means, promote a radical and effectual reform in the representation of the people in parliament, including persons of all religious persuasions, and that I will unceasingly pursue that object until it shall have been unequivocally obtained; and seriously apprehending the dangerous consequences of certain leveling tenets and seditious principles, which have lately been disseminated; I do further declare, that I will resist all attempts to introduce any new form of government into this country, or in any manner to subvert or impair our constitution, con-

sisting of king, lords, and commons." The concluding sentiment expressed in this obligation shewed that the society fixed to themselves at least some limit.

The catholics, meanwhile, satisfied that the English ministers were disposed to favour their claims, drew up the following petition to the king, stating their grievances, in the confident hope that if they reached the throne they would be redressed.

Mr. Byrne, Mr. Keogh, Mr. Devereux, Mr. Bellew, and Sir Thomas French, the gentlemen delegated by the committee to present this petition, attended the levee at St. James's, and were introduced by Mr. Dundas, as home secretary. They then had the honour to present the humble petition of the catholic body to his majesty, who was pleased to receive it most graciously.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble petition of the undersigned catholics, on behalf of themselves and the rest of his catholic subjects of the kingdom of Ireland.

" MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

" WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects of your kingdom of Ireland, professing the catholic religion, presume to approach your majesty, who are the common father of all your

people, and humbly to submit to your consideration the manifold incapacities and oppressive disqualifications under which we labour.

“ For, may it please your majesty, after a century of uninterrupted loyalty, in which five foreign wars and two domestic rebellions have occurred, after having taken every oath of allegiance and fidelity to your majesty, and given, and being still ready to give, every pledge, which can be devised for their peaceable demeanour and unconditional submission to the laws, the catholics of Ireland stand obnoxious to a long catalogue of statutes, inflicting on dutiful and meritorious subjects pains and penalties of an extent and severity which scarce any degree of delinquency can warrant, and prolonged to a period when no necessity can be alledged to justify their continuance.

“ In the first place, we beg leave with all humility to represent to your majesty, that though your fleets and armies are largely supplied by our members, and your revenue in this country to a great degree supported by our contributions, we are disabled from serving your majesty in any office of trust and emolument whatsoever, civil or military—a proscription which disregards capacity or merit, admits of neither qualification nor degree, and rests as an universal stigma of distrust upon the whole body of your catholic subjects.

“ We are interdicted from all municipal stations, and the franchise of all guilds and corporations; and our exclusion from the benefits annexed to

those situations is not an evil terminating in itself; for, by giving an advantage over us to those in whom they are exclusively vested, they establish throughout the kingdom a species of qualified monopoly, uniformly operating in our disfavour, contrary to the spirit and highly detrimental to the freedom of trade.

“ We may not found nor endow any university, college, or school for the education of our children, and we are interdicted from obtaining degrees in the university of Dublin by the several charters and statutes now in force therein.

“ We are totally prohibited from keeping or using weapons for the defence of our houses, families, or persons, whereby we are exposed to the violence of burglary, robbery, and assassination; and to enforce this prohibition, contravening that great original law of nature which enjoins us to self-defence, a variety of statutes exist, not less grievous and oppressive in their provisions than unjust in their object; by one of which, enacted so lately as within these sixteen years, every of your majesty's catholic subjects, of whatever rank or degree, peer or peasant, is compellable by any magistrate to come forward and convict himself of what may be thought a singular offence in a country professing to be free—keeping arms for his defence; or if he shall refuse so to do, may incur not only fine and imprisonment, but the vile and ignominious punishments of the pillory and whipping, penalties appropriated to the most in-

famous malefactors, and more terrible to a liberal mind than death itself.

“ No catholic whatsoever, as we apprehend, has his personal property secure. The laws allow and encourage the disobedient and unnatural child to conform and deprive him of it: the unhappy father does not, even by the surrender of his all, purchase his repose; he may be attacked by new bills, if his future industry be successful, and again be plundered by due process of law.

“ We are excluded, or may be excluded, from all petit juries, in civil actions, where one of the parties is a protestant; and we are further excluded from all petit juries in trials by information or indictment, founded on any of the popery laws, by which law we humbly submit to your majesty, that your loyal subjects, the catholics of Ireland, are in this their native land, in a worse situation than that of aliens, for they may demand, an equitable privilege denied to us, of having half their jury aliens like themselves.

“ We may not serve on grand juries, unless, which it is scarcely possible can ever happen, there should not be found a sufficiency of protestants to complete the pannel; contrary to that humane and equitable principle of the law, which says, that no man shall be convicted of any capital offence, unless by the concurring verdicts of two juries of his neighbours and equals; whereby, and to this we humbly presume more particularly implore your royal attention, we are deprived of

the great palladium of the constitution, trial by our peers, independant of the manifest injustice of our property being taxed in assessment by a body, from which we are formally excluded.

“ We avoid further enumerations of inferior grievances; but may it please your majesty, there remains one incapacity, which your loyal subjects the catholics of Ireland, feel the most poignant anguish of mind, as being the badge of unmerited disgrace and ignominy, and the cause and bitter aggravation of all our other calamities; we are deprived of the elective franchise, to the manifest perversion of the spirit of the constitution, inas-much as your faithful subjects are thereby taxed, where they are not represented, actually or virtually, and bound by laws, in the framing of which, they have no power to give, or with-hold their assent; and we most humbly implore your majesty to believe, that this our prime and heavy grievance is not an evil merely speculative, but is attended with great distress to all ranks, and in many instances, with the total ruin and in destruction of the lower orders of your majesty's faithful and loyal subjects the catholics of Ireland; for may it please your majesty, not to mention the infinite variety of advantages in point of protection and otherwise, which the enjoyment of the elective franchise gives to those who possess it, nor the consequent inconveniencies, to which those who are deprived thereof are liable; not to mention the disgrace to three-fourths of your

loyal subjects of Ireland, of living the only body of men incapable of franchise, in the nation possessing a free constitution, it continually happens, and of necessity from the malignant nature of the law must happen, that multitudes of the catholic tenantry in divers counties in this kingdom are, at the expiration of their leases, expelled from their tenements and farms to make room for protestant freeholders, who, by their votes, may contribute to the weight and importance of their landlords; a circumstance which renders the recurrence of a general election, that period which is the boast and laudable triumph of our protestant brethren, a visitation and heavy curse to us, your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects. And may it please your majesty, this uncertainty of possession to your majesty's catholic subjects, operates as a perpetual restraint and discouragement on industry and the spirit of cultivation, whereby it happens, that this your majesty's kingdom of Ireland, possessing many and great natural advantages of soil and climate, so as to be exceeded therein by few, if any countries on the earth, is yet prevented from availing herself thereof so fully as she otherwise might, to the furtherance of your majesty's honour and the more effectual support of your service.

“ And may it please your majesty, the evils even does not rest here; for many of your majesty's catholic subjects, to preserve their families from total destruction, submit to a nominal conformity against

their conviction and conscience, and preferring perjury to famine, take oaths which they utterly disbelieve; a circumstance, which we doubt not will shock your majesty's well known exemplary piety, not less than the misery which drives those unhappy wretches to so desperate a measure, must distress and wound your royal clemency and commiseration.

“ And may it please your majesty, though we might here rest our case on its own merits, justice, and expediency, yet we further presume humbly to submit to your majesty, that the right of franchise was, with divers other rights, enjoyed by the catholics of this kingdom, from the first adoption of the English constitution by our forefathers, was secured to at least a great part of our body by the treaty of Limerick, in 1691, guaranteed by your majesty's royal predecessors, King William and Queen Mary. And finally confirmed and ratified by parliament; notwithstanding which and in direct breach of the public faith of the nation thus solemnly pledged, for which our ancestors paid a valuable consideration in the surrender of their arms, and a great part of this kingdom, and notwithstanding the most scrupulous, adherence, on our part, to the terms of the said treaty, and our unremitting loyalty from that day to the present, the said right of elective franchise was finally and universally taken away from the catholics of Ireland, so lately as the first year of his majesty King George the Second.

And when we thus presume to submit to this infraction of the treaty of Limerick to your majesty's royal notice, it is not that we consider ourselves it to be the strong part of our case; for though our rights were recognized, they were by no means created by that treaty; and we do with all humility conceive, that if no such event as the said treaty had ever taken place, your majesty's catholic subjects, from their unvarying loyalty, and dutiful submission to the laws, and from the great support afforded by them to your majesty's government in this country, as well in their personal service, in your majesty's fleets and armies, as from the taxes and revenues levied on their property, are justly competent, and justly entitled to participate and enjoy the blessings of the constitution of their country.

“ And now that we have with all humility submitted our grievances to your majesty, permit us, most gracious sovereign, again to represent our sincere attachment to the constitution, as established in three estates of king, lords, and commons; our uninterrupted loyalty, peaceable demeanour, and submission to the laws for one hundred years; and our determination to persevere in the same dutiful conduct, which has under your majesty's happy auspices, procured us those relaxations of the penal statutes, which the wisdom of the legislature has from time to time thought proper to grant; we humbly presume to hope that your majesty, in your paternal goodness

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and affections towards a numerous and oppressed body of your parliament of Ireland, to take into their consideration the whole of our situation, our numbers, our merits and our sufferings; and as we do not give place to any of your majesty's subjects in loyalty and attachment to your sacred person, we cannot suppress our wishes of being restored to the rights and privileges of the constitution of our country, and thereby becoming more worthy, as well as more capable of rendering your majesty that service, which is not less our duty than our inclination to afford.

“ So may your majesty transmit to your latest posterity, a crown secured by public advantage and public affection; and so may your royal person become, if possible, more dear to your grateful people.”

This petition was signed by Dr. Troy and Dr. Moylan, on behalf of themselves and the other Roman catholic prelates and clergy of Ireland, and by the several delegates for the different districts which they respectively represented.

The year 1793, was as important a one to Ireland as any that had occurred since the acquisition of a constitution in 1782. The first remarkable feature that distinguished it was the concession, by government, of several questions which had been hitherto pertinaciously resisted. Mr. Grattan, always persevering, never desponding, never intimidated, again brought forward the topic of parliamentary reform. He partially succeeded; for he

procured the appointment of a committee to inquire what deficiencies existed, and what remedies were applicable. Several other popular measures were passed, all tending to conciliate the public mind. The first check which the opposition received in their new born hopes of the sincerity of government, was upon the day when the house resolved itself into the committee upon parliamentary reform. Mr. Grattan made an able speech, and submitted three resolutions upon the subject which were opposed by the ministerial party and ultimately lost by 137 against 48.

In this year a catholic relief bill was introduced into parliament, by Mr. Secretary Hobart, and passed both houses, much against the inclination of many even of those members who voted for it. By the operations of this bill the catholics were placed nearly in the same political situation with the protestants except that they still remained excluded from sitting in parliament, from being members of the privy council, from holding the office of sheriff, and some other offices under the crown, about 30 in number, specified in the act: and that their voluntary contributions constituted the sole maintenance of their clergy. Among the points conceded was that of the elective franchise. When Mr. Hobart, touched upon the army and navy he expressly said, as the minister of the crown, that it was in the contemplation of the government of England, to admit Roman catholics to bear commissions in those departments of the

state, and that, in due time measures for the same purpose would be proposed there when a communication with the English government should have been had upon it. This pledge to the public has never been redeemed. Some attempts were made in the lords, to introduce a clause qualifying the catholics to be appointed to certain military command, but it was resisted as nugatory, till England should pass a similar law, because a catholic appointed in Ireland, could not serve in England without a violation of the laws there. The gunpowder bill, and the convention bill, both government measures, were also passed this session. The object of the latter was to check the frequent assemblies of delegates of the people; and Mr. Grattan opposed it, because it went to destroy the people's undoubted rights of petitioning, by rendering the previous act, consultation and deliberation, unlawful and criminal. The session was put an end to on the 16th of Aug. and the viceroy, in his speech, "declared that the wisdom, and liberality with which they had attended to his majesty's recommendation in favour of his Roman catholic subjects were highly pleasing to the king."

In 1794, government resolved upon adopting some strong measures against the confident boldness which now began to display itself in several of the popular societies. The first victim was Mr. A. Hamilton Rowan, for distributing a seditious libel. Rowan was secretary to the Society

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of United Irishmen at Dublin, and his alledged libel was an address to the volunteers of Ireland. Curran defended him in a speech of unusual brilliancy and eloquence, even for him, but after a trial of ten hours, he was found guilty and sentenced to pay a fine of 500*l.* to be imprisoned for two years, and to find security for his good behaviour for seven years, himself in 2000*l.* and two sureties in 1000*l.* each. It may easily be supposed that the verdict gave dissatisfaction to those who thought and acted with Rowan.

Parliament met on the 21st of January; but nothing worthy of commemoration was done. It was prorogued in March following. Meanwhile, the growing spirit of discontent was such as justly alarmed the government. Defenderism spread rapidly: the Right Boys became more daring, and the United Irishmen assumed a language upon political subjects which alarmed and displeased even the most enthusiastic in behalf of constitutional reform. Mr. Hamilton Rowan escaped out of prison: and about the same time, the Rev. Mr. Jackson, a protestant clergyman, was committed to Newgate, on a charge of high treason. Both these events produced strong impressions upon the public mind.

Historical justice demands that a distinction should be made between those united Irishmen, who afterwards sought only rebellion and disloyalty, and those who at the period we are now engaged upon, assumed and bore that name. They were

essentially unlike in their end and in their means. The united Irishmen of 1794, sought only a reform in parliament and emancipation for their catholic fellow subjects: that was the utmost aim of their association. The united Irishmen of 1798, would have gladly produced separation between the two countries, and endeavoured to accomplish their wishes by treason and civil war. They sprung from the fermenting dregs of the people worked into malignant action by some real grievances, but more by the seditious efforts of unprincipled agitators.

Much good was augured to Ireland from the remarkable changes that happened at home this year, by the accession of a large part of the Rockingham whigs to Mr. Pitt. The French revolution and war were the known causes of this defection and the "dwindled phalanx of opposition," as Burke petulantly denominated those whom he had left, and who still adhered to their principles, were arraigned for their motives with very little tenderness. When the new born proselytes were provided for, it became necessary to pay some attention to the disturbed condition of Ireland. Lord Westmoreland was to be recalled, and at the express wish of the Duke of Portland (who had joined the ministry) Earl Fitzwilliam was appointed his successor. It was understood that Lord Fitzwilliam was to be invested with full power for tranquillizing the country by all practicable means, and especially by conceding the

catholic question *. Some political intrigue, however, characterised the proceedings. As late as August, 1794, Mr. Pitt, had assured Lord Westmoreland he should not be recalled: (it was in July, that the coalition took place,) but when it was found impossible to continue him in his situation, Mr. Pitt then fixed upon Lord Camden as his successor. The appointment of Earl Fitzwilliam, therefore, was not made with the concurrence of Pitt, and his going out could only be to answer a temporary purpose. The people of Ireland, however, were sanguine in their hopes, especially as some of the leading members of opposition (Ponsonby, Grattan, &c.) were invited over to England to concert with Mr. Pitt, upon the measures to be adopted. It seems pretty certain, however, from Lord Fitzwilliam's letter to

* It appears, however, from a debate in the British house of Lords in 1799, upon the question of Union, and in which Lord Fitzwilliam took an active share, that he was not *empowered* to concede the Catholic question. We have the best authority for this—his lordship's own words. "Yielding," says he, "to the argument of not wishing to entangle government in difficulties, upon the subject at that period, I admit that under orders clearly understood by me, *not to give rise to, or bring forward the question of catholic emancipation on the part of government, I assumed the government of Ireland.* But, in yielding to this argument, I entered my protest against resisting the question if it should be brought forward from any other quarter; and I made most distinct declarations, that in case of its being so brought forward, it should receive my full support. With these declarations I assumed the government of Ireland."

the Earl of Carlisle, that he and his friends, particularly the Duke of Portland, were somewhat deluded as to the power they were to have in settling the affairs of Ireland.

CHAP. VIII.

Administration of Lord Fitzwilliam—His proceedings render him very popular—Beloved by the Irish, who anticipate great advantages from his government—Mr. Grattan brings in the Catholic Bill—Debate on it—Recall of Lord Fitzwilliam—Regret of the whole nation at that event—Earl Camden appointed his successor—Proceedings of the United Irishmen.

LORD Fitzwilliam took possession of his government, on the 4th of January, 1795, and began with sincerity to accomplish, what he believed he had been sent out to accomplish, the tranquillity of Ireland; unconscious of the secret influence and preconcerted measures of Mr. Pitt to thwart all his endeavours. His first acts were certain dismissals from office which created general alarm at the Castle. Among contemplated dismissals were those of the attorney and solicitor generals, who were to retire upon ample provisions, and to be succeeded by Messrs. Ponsonby and Curran, the former as attorney general, the latter as solicitor general. Mr. Beresford also was removed as filling a situation greater than that of the lord lieutenant.

The viceroy met the parliament on the 22nd of January, 1795, and in his speech alluded to the critical situation of the British empire, under which eventful circumstances he called upon them to afford their aid. Mr. Grattan, the "self avowed minister" of Lord Fitzwilliam, as the Earl of Clare called him, because he had accepted no responsible office, moved the address in a speech of great eloquence and argument, which was carried without a division. The catholic question immediately afterwards occupied the attention of parliament. On the 24th of January, Mr. Grattan presented a petition from the catholics of Dublin, praying to be restored to the full enjoyment of the constitution, by a repeal of all the penal laws still affecting the catholics of Ireland. It was ordered to lie on the table, and it was soon followed by numerous other petitions, from every distinct body of catholics throughout the realm. On the 25th of February, Mr. Grattan obtained leave to bring in the bill, which was opposed only by Dr. Duigenan, Mr. Ogle, and Colonel Blacquiere.

It soon appeared, however, that the measures pursued by Lord Fitzwilliam were not acceptable to Mr. Pitt, though they were not made the ostensible cause of difference. On the 9th of February, that minister wrote to his lordship expostulating on the dismissal of Mr. Beresford, and on the negotiation with Messrs. Wolfe, and Toler, (the attorney and solicitor general, after-

wards Lord Kilwarden and Lord Norbury.) This was the sum and substance of his letter; yet, it is hardly to be supposed, as some have attempted to insinuate, that he was recalled, merely, because he had dismissed Mr. Beresford. It is a more probable solution of the mystery, that as he went out without the direct wish of Pitt, and was rapidly carrying measures to which that minister never cordially assented, any pretext was laid hold of to remove him from his post. Rumours of this intended removal soon began to spread, and parliament and the country were equally astonished and indignant. The extraordinary sum of 1,700,000*l.* had been voted for carrying on the war, and it was now thought that the appointment of Lord Fitzwilliam was only a political juggle to induce the Irish parliament to vote such a sum under his auspices, from the expectation of important benefits to be derived from his administration. In pursuance of this sentiment, so generally felt, Mr. Conolly, moved on the 2nd of March, the three following resolutions, " 1. That his Excellency Earl Fitzwilliam had, by his conduct since his arrival in that kingdom, merited the thanks of that house, and the confidence of the people. 2. That to prorogue the parliament, before the grievances, of which the people complained were redressed, would be highly inexpedient. 3. That the foregoing resolutions be laid before his majesty." The first of these resolutions

was carried unanimously; the two other, at the instance of Lord Milton, and Mr. Grattan, were withdrawn.

The recall of Lord Fitzwilliam was decided upon, and nothing but cheerless despondency sat on every brow in Ireland. Whether his lordship's continuance would really have produced those exalted benefits to the country which were implied in the general sorrow for his departure; or, whether the Irish nation believing him sincere in his intentions anticipated the performance of all that was wished; must for ever remain a matter of unfruitful speculation. One thing is certain, there never had been a viceroy in Ireland who so thoroughly possessed the love and confidence of the people. Extraordinary measures were resorted to, in the phrensy of their devotion. The catholics of Dublin, deputed three of their body to present a petition to the king at his levee, praying that his majesty would be graciously pleased to continue his excellency in the government of Ireland. In the house of lords the Duke of Leinster, moved a resolution nearly similar to the first of those moved by Mr. Conolly, in the commons. Mr. Grattan, in his ambiguous reply to the address of the catholics to him, passed the highest encomium upon his excellency. All ranks of people adored; and in the fervour of their adoration they worshiped the ascribed and real qualities of their deity. But all was fruitless. On the 25th of March, after a vicegerency of

little more than two months, he took his departure from Ireland. "It was a day of general gloom," says Mr. Plowden; "the shops were shut, no business of any kind was transacted, and the whole city put on mourning. His coach was drawn to the water side, by some of the most respectable citizens, and cordial sorrow appeared on every countenance."—When the reader peruses this, he can hardly persuade himself that this beneficent being, whose loss was deplored as a national calamity, had really done nothing; not because he was unwilling to do any thing, but because he had been denied the necessary time for accomplishing any one beneficial act. Surely then, an impartial spectator of such extravagant love and admiration, may smile at the credulity of a people who prostrate themselves before a fallible divinity, for mercies that they hope to experience, and for blessings they expect to enjoy.

The successor of this speculative viceroy was Earl Camden, and being understood to arrive as the avowed agent of the minister, who had robbed the people of their idol, his reception was peculiarly ungracious. It was found necessary even to call out the military to prevent outrage. When, on the 13th of April, Lord Cole, moved a congratulatory address to his excellency upon his arrival, Mr. Grattan said he felt more strongly inclined to condole with the country on the recal of Lord Fitzwilliam than to congratulate it on the appointment of Lord Camden. It passed how-

ever without a division. On the 4th of May, the second reading of the catholic bill came on. The solicitor general moved that it should be rejected. An animated and lengthened debate took place, in the course of which it was, for the first time, urged that the king could not give his assent to such a bill without violating his coronation oath. Mr. Arthur O'Connor, made a brilliant speech in defence of the bill, which so offended his uncle Lord Longueville, who had brought him into parliament, that he sent for him next day, and desired him to vacate his seat which he accordingly did. At ten o'clock in the morning the house divided, when there were 155 for rejecting the bill, and 84 against it. Thus perished the hopes of the catholics for this time. This was the only measure of importance agitated during the session, and on the 5th of June, parliament was prorogued.

During the recess the rising discontents of the people manifested themselves more and more. Violent outrages now began to be committed. The chancellor was wounded in his carriage by a stone, thrown at his head; and the house of Mr. John Claudius Beresford was assailed. The latter was peculiarly obnoxious, because of the powerful political interest of his family, and the way in which that interest was exerted. The different societies now began to shield themselves from the scrutiny of government, by oaths of secrecy and mysterious proceedings. Their ostensible object was

parliamentary reform and catholic emancipation: this seduced many heedless persons to unite with them, who would have shrunk from the connexion had they fully known the extent of their traitorous designs. Messrs. O'Connor, Emmett, and Dr. M'Neven were active members of these societies, and while in prison they published a detailed account of their origin and progress. The following is part of their statement.

“ The first of these societies, as we best recollect, in the year 1795, in order to insure co-operation and uniformity of action, organized a system of committees, baronial, county and provincial, and even national, but it was long before the skeleton of this organization was filled up. While the formation of these societies was in agitation, the friends of liberty were gradually, but with a timid step, advancing towards republicanism; they began to be convinced that it would be as easy to obtain a revolution as a reform, so obstinately was the latter resisted: and as the conviction impressed itself on their minds, they were inclined not to give up the struggle, but to extend their views; it was for this reason that in their test the words are, *an equal representation of all the people of Ireland*, without inserting the word, *parliament*. This test embraced both the republican and the reformer, and left to future circumstances to decide to which point the common strength should be directed; but still the whole body we are convinced, would rejoice to stop short at re-

form. Another consideration, however, led the minds of reflecting United Irishmen to look towards a republic, and a separation from England; this was the war with France; they clearly perceived that their strength was not likely to become speedily equal to wresting from the English, and the borough interest in Ireland, even a reform; foreign assistance would therefore perhaps become necessary; but foreign assistance could only be hoped for in proportion as the object, to which it would be applied was important to the party giving it. A reform in the Irish parliament was no object to the French; a separation of Ireland from England was a mighty one indeed. Thus they reasoned; shall we, between two objects, confine ourselves to the least valuable, even though it be equally difficult to be obtained, if we consider the relation of Ireland to the rest of Europe.

“Whatever progress the united system had made among the catholics throughout the kingdom, until after the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, notwithstanding many resolutions, which had appeared from them, manifesting a growing spirit, they were considered as entertaining an habitual respect for monarchy, but also as being less attached than the presbyterians to political liberty. There were, however, certain men among them who rejoiced at the rejection of their claims because it gave them an opportunity of pointing out that the adversaries of reform were their adversaries; and that these two objects could never be separated with any

chance of success to either. They used the recal of that nobleman, and the rejection of his measures, to cement together in political union, the catholic and presbyterian masses.

"The modern societies, for their protection against informers and prosecution, had introduced into their test a clause of secrecy. They did more, they changed the engagement of their predecessors into an oath; and mutual confidence increased when religion was called in aid of mutual security *."

From this statement of the nature and object of these institutions it may easily be supposed that government felt some alarm at their progress. Religious feuds were added to political animosity. In the North, the *Peep-of-day Boys* renounced that appellation, which had been bestowed upon them in consequence of their early domiciliary visits to the catholics, and assumed a more specious and imposing title; they called themselves *Orange Men*, professing to support the constitution as

* The following is the form of an oath adopted by them, "In the awful presence of God I, A. B. do voluntarily declare, that I will persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Irishmen, of every religious persuasion; and that I will also persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate representation of all the people of Ireland. I do further declare that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or punishments shall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform of, or give evidence against any member or members, of this or similar societies for any act or expression of theirs done or made, collectively or individually in or out of this society, in pursuance of this obligation."

established by William the Third. These militant political sectaries were at first but few in number and obscure in name, but gradually they grew into importance, and Orange Lodges were spread over a considerable part of Ireland. They, too, had their oath, and if unauthenticated rumor may be believed, it was one of intolerant extermination. It is said to have run thus: "In the awful presence of Almighty God I, A. B. do solemnly swear, that I will, to the utmost of my power support the king and the present government: and I do further swear, that I will use my utmost exertions to exterminate all the catholics of the kingdom of Ireland." In the absence of all credible testimony, we may safely doubt the accuracy of the concluding obligation; and unwillingly believe that any set of protestants could be found, at the close of the eighteenth century who would bind themselves to so foul and fanatical a purpose.

In the midst of these excesses, parliament met on the 21st of January, 1796, and in the speech it was strongly recommended to them to provide for the safety and tranquillity of the country, now so endangered and disturbed by the formation of secret societies, some of whose plans had been detected in consequence of a prosecution carried on against individuals connected with them. Accordingly the Attorney General brought in two bills for preventing insurrection, tumults and riots, and for indemnifying magistrates acting against

the law. He also moved certain strong resolutions, declaring that the spirit of conspiracy and outrage manifested in certain parts required that more effectual powers should be given to the magistracy. These "more effectual powers" consisted in enabling magistrates to search for arms, ammunition, &c. preventing the assembling of large bodies, and apprehending all persons not having any known or visible means of obtaining a livelihood.

These resolutions were prefaced with a minute detail of the outrages committed during the four preceding years by the defenders: but not a word was said of the violent persecutions carried on by the Orange Men. To supply this chasm fell to the lot of Mr. Grattan, who drew an animated picture of the hostile spirit which actuated these persons, who, said he, "committed massacre in the name of God, and exercised despotic power in the name of liberty." There seems to be little doubt that many wanton barbarities and much unnecessary cruelty were exercised by the protestants towards the catholics. They were often tried by committees and sent on board a tender, or to a recruiting officer as deserters; and these evils were greatly aggravated by the conduct of the magistracy of Armagh several of whom refused to take the examination of the injured catholics. It was generally believed that 7000 catholics had been forced or burned out of the county of Armagh, and that the ferocious banditti who had

expelled them had been encouraged, connived at, and protected by government. Notwithstanding these facts, however, the resolutions passed, and on the 15th of April the parliament was prorogued.

About this time the Union gained considerable strength from its coalition with the defenders, particularly those of the counties of Down and Antrim. The connexion afterwards extended to other counties. There were a few points respecting which the unionists and the defenders were unanimous: but, generally, the former aimed at things beyond the views of the latter, who also wanted that complete organization of dependant and subordinate committees, &c. which the United Irishmen had established. Their junction, however, tended to give them this, and also engaged them in the prosecution of plans far different from what formed the original objects of their association which was chiefly confined to an amelioration of the condition of the catholics, while the United Irishmen projected a separation from England altogether. The whole number of the United body amounted, in 1796, to 500,000 men, the greater part now trained to the use of arms. Many outrages were committed in the North by the military who were sent there to preserve order and peace; and what greatly irritated the disaffected was the avowed protection granted by government to any individual who committed the most wanton excesses upon the defenders or

United Irishmen. At the assizes of Armagh, for instance, Colonel Sparrow was tried and found guilty of murdering a Mr. Lucas: he was called up to receive sentence, when he produced his majesty's pardon to the court and was instantly liberated. The Orange Men also were specially countenanced by government.

It was necessary, however, that some decided course should be adopted; and the formation of armed corps of yeomanry was, this year, (1796) encouraged. The catholics were scarcely permitted to join these associations, and when they waited upon the secretary to request permission to form themselves into corps, they were told they might join the corps then raising by their protestant fellow-subjects. Some few did so: but their reception was not such as to encourage many to follow their example.

Parliament met on the 13th Oct. 1796, and were informed by the lord lieutenant that his majesty had required their attendance, thus early, in consequence of a threatened descent on the coast of Ireland by the French. The speech also took notice of the disturbances in Armagh. "I have, however, to lament, that in one part of the country good order has not been entirely restored; and that in other districts a treasonable system of secret confederation, by the administering of illegal oaths, still continues, although no means within the reach of government have been left untried to counteract it." Mr. Grattan objected to the

speech because it contained no conciliatory matter, and moved an amendment which was rejected. One of the most important measures transacted this session, was the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act; 7 only voted against this proceeding, and 137 with the minister. Certainly, if there ever could be a moment when the suspension of so important a security to individual freedom and justice might be attempted, it was precisely that moment of danger and peril, when the thing was actually done both in England and Ireland.

The French invasion of this country was so long talked of, that at last it became a common topic of ridicule. The rumor was not without foundation, however. In consequence of a representation of the state of affairs from an Irish emigrant (supposed to be Theobald Wolf Tone,) to the French directory, a proposal was made of an armament from France for the political disruption of this island from the British government. After a consultation in the summer of 1796, the leaders of the Irish Union notified by an agent, (supposed to be the unhappy Lord Edward Fitzgerald) their acceptance of the offer on condition that the invading army should act as auxiliaries under the direction and pay of the society, which, on becoming possessed of the dominion, should be bound to reimburse the whole expences of the armament. Preparations were made for an expedition from Brest, but the cordial and effective co-operation of the traitors at home was partially

240 *French preparations for invading Ireland.*

defeated by two different accounts which they received as to the time when their treasonable succour would be wanted.

Besides fifteen frigates, with sloops and transports; the whole calculated to transport an army of 25,000 men, the squadron destined for Ireland is stated as consisting of 25 ships of the line, including seven under Admiral Richery, who had orders to form a junction as soon as possible. Hoche, the commander of the land forces, was one of the ablest officers in the French service. This formidable armament at length set sail on the 16th Dec. 1796. But here a similar seeming interposition of Providence took place to what occurred when another power (the Spanish Armada) dared to menace with invasion, the shores of England. The elements were the primary foes of the enemy. Some of the ships were disabled; and others wholly destroyed, by striking against the rocks at the harbour's mouth as they were sailing out; and on the next day a violent tempest arose, which continued with more or less fury during the whole time of the expedition, and dispersed many of the vessels. On the 24th, however, the chief Admiral Bouvet, anchored in Bantry Bay, in the County of Cork, with seventeen vessels, ten of which were ships of the line. He dispatched a boat to the shore with a reconnoitring party who were immediately made prisoners by the peasants. The French officers were eager to land with what troops had arrived; but

the admiral, deterred by the hostile aspect of the country would not consent until the general should come who had been separated by a gale from his part of the fleet. After a delay of some days, the admiral despairing of the general's arrival, returned to Brest; and all the divisions of the scattered navy regained that port with the loss of two ships of the line, and three frigates, one of which was captured, one run on shore in France, and three foundered. Thus happily was frustrated, more by the elements than any disposition of means by the government at home, this first attempt of republican France to injure England through the sides of Ireland. Had the troops been all landed, and the uncertain loyalty of the people in the South left to the arts of factious agitators or the coercion of military law, it is difficult to say what might have been the result. It is notorious that ministers, though expecting such an attempt, had suffered the defences of the country to be shamefully inefficient.

The sudden display of loyalty manifested by the Irish in defeating the meditated attack upon their country, was held out as a cause why conciliatory measures should and would be adopted in their favour. At the same time also a strong persuasion existed that the Prince of Wales would be sent over as viceroy, that illustrious personage having made an offer of his services to ministers, in the hope that his popularity in Ireland, might be able to calm the troubled condition of that country. He proposed

taking out with him Earl Moira as commander in chief, but the proposition was finally rejected. It seemed, indeed, as if nothing should be done to conciliate; but every thing left to the dangerous expedient of force. On the 17th of Feb. 1797, Mr. Grattan again introduced the question of catholic emancipation, but it was now opposed by many who had formerly supported it, and who were confessedly favourable to the principle of concession, only they thought that an improper moment for introducing the discussion. This was the last time that question was brought before the Irish parliament. The next business of importance was a communication to the house by Mr. Secretary Pelham, "that two committees of United Irishmen in Belfast, had been arrested and their papers seized; which contained matters of so much importance to the public welfare, that his excellency had directed them to be laid before the house of commons for their consideration. That he should in the mean time pursue those measures, which had received their sanction and approbation with unremitting vigour, and employ the force entrusted to him in the most efficient manner, for the protection of his majesty's faithful subjects against all treasonable designs, and for bringing to condign punishment those who were endeavouring to overturn the constitution, and betray that country into the hands of her enemies." Mr. Pelham then proposed that they should be referred to a secret committee. Mr. Grattan objected to

this, but the motion was carried, and a committee of 15 appointed. They reported on the 10th of May, and the substance of their report was, that an alarming conspiracy to overturn the constitution, confiscate property, and extinguish the possessors of it, did exist, and that the strongest measures became indispensibly necessary to meet the evil that threatened them.

Meanwhile, Mr. W. B. Ponsonby, brought forward his motion on parliamentary reform, concluding it with submitting five resolutions, comprehending the usual topics of redress and argument. The debate that ensued was warm and animated: the ministry of course triumphed, for many persons, not unfriendly to the general principle, thought it unwise to concede it at that particular time. Mr. Grattan took a conspicuous share in the discussion and concluded a very able speech, in the following words. "We have offered you our measure; you will reject it; we deprecate yours; you will persevere; having no hopes left to persuade or dissuade, and having discharged our duty, we shall trouble you no more, and after this day shall not attend the house of commons."

CHAP. IX.

Proceedings by government—Proclamation of General Lake—Rebellion begins to manifest itself—Organization of the Irish union—Its accredited negotiations with the French directory—Memoir of the rebels falls into the hands of government—Parliament dissolved—Lord Castle-reeagh succeeds Mr. Pelham as secretary—Seizure of some of the delegates—Time for the insurrection approaches—Lord E. Fitzgerald apprehended—The rebellion bursts forth—Details of it.

A PLAN of subjugation was now openly pursued by the agents of government. Many persons in respectable circumstances were imprisoned on secret information or suspicion, without benefit of trial. Several districts in the north were proclaimed, and numbers of the lower sort sent on board the royal navy. General Lake, chief military command in the northern province, was, by a letter from Mr. Secretary Pelham, dated March 3, 1797, authorised to use the troops for the prevention of disturbance according to his discretion. The general, on the 13th, issued a

proclamation *, commanding a surrender of arms, and promising inviolable secrecy and rewards to informers. The troops were so disposed as to search all suspected places, and to prevent unlawful assemblies, especially after a certain hour in the night, when all persons found abroad without authority were liable to punishment. The irritation produced by these proceedings was greatly inflamed by the following circumstance. The newspaper called *The Morning Star*, published at Belfast, was the only paper into which seditious matter, calculated to feed the spirit of tumult, could find its way. The proprietors of it had been committed to Newgate under the suspension of the habeas corpus act. The persons who then conducted the paper having been required, refused to insert a paragraph in it which reflected on the loyalty of the people of Belfast, and the next morning a detachment of the military issued from the barracks, attacked the printing-office, and utterly demolished every part of it. This, if true, was undoubtedly a proceeding not to be justified by any plea of policy or expediency; but in the clamour and perversion of civil discord it is difficult to prevent a large mixture of falsehood from incorporating with the relation of every important transaction.

It was thought necessary to proceed to still further extremities. On the 17th of May a proclama-

* See Appendix, No. VI, for the letter and proclamation.

tion from the chief governor was issued, declaring the civil power insufficient; the most effectual orders were sent to the military officers to use their utmost exertions for the suppression of treason; and the king's most gracious pardon was tendered to all such as, on or before the 24th of June, should surrender to the magistrates, take the oath of allegiance, and, if bail should be required, enter into recognisance for their future good behaviour. This proclamation was followed by Lord Carhampton, the chief commander, directing the military officers to act without waiting for any authority from the civil power. The inevitable consequence of this crisis of affairs was, that many excesses were committed, many cases of extreme hardship occurred, and many innocent persons, perhaps, suffered. But to attribute these evils to the wilful perversity of government, and not to the calamitous conjuncture of affairs, which permitted little opportunity for discrimination, betrays either folly or malignity.

The origin of the Irish union is described by a contemporary writer.

"The association consisted of a multitude of societies, linked closely together, and ascending in gradation like the component parts of a pyramid or cone, to a common apex or point of union. The lowest or simple societies consisted at most of twelve men each, as nearly as possible of the same neighbourhood, subject to the inspection one of another. An assembly of five secretaries, severally elected by five simple

societies, formed a lower baronial committee, which had the immediate superintendence of these five societies. Ten delegates, elected one from each of ten baronial, composed an upper baronial committee, which in like manner directed the business of these ten lower committees. With the same superintendence over their constituent assemblies, delegates from the upper baronial, one deputed from each, formed, in the counties, country committees, and in populous towns district committees. The provincial committees, one for each of the four provinces, were composed of delegates from the district, and county committees: two from each, in some cases three. The supreme command was committed to an executive directory, composed of five persons, unknown to all except the four secretaries, of the provincial committees; for they were elected by ballot in these committees, the secretaries of which alone examined the ballots, and notified the election to none beside the persons themselves on whom it fell. The orders of this hidden directing power were conveyed through the whole organised body by not easily discoverable channels of communication. By one member only of the directory were carried the mandates to one member of each provincial committee, by the latter severally to the secretaries of the district and county committees in the province, by these secretaries to those of the upper baronials, and thus downward through the lower baronial to the simple societies.

" The military organization was grafted on the civil. The secretary of each of the simple societies was its non-commissioned officer, serjeant, or corporal. The delegate of five simple societies to a lower baronial committee was commonly captain over these five, that is, of a company of 60 men; and the delegate of ten lower baronial to an upper, or district committee, was generally colonel of a battalion of 600 men, composed of the 50 simple societies, under the superintendence of this upper committee. Out of three persons, whose names were transmitted from the colonels of each county to the directory, one was appointed by that body to act as adjutant-general of the county. To complete the scheme, a military committee was appointed by the directory, but not before the beginning of the following year, to contrive plans for the direction of the national force in unaided rebellion or co-operation with an invading army. All the members of the union were ordered to furnish themselves with guns or pikes according to their ability. To form a pecuniary fund for the expences of this revolutionary plan, monthly subscriptions, according to the zeal and circumstances of the members, were collected in the several societies, and treasurers appointed by suffrage for their collection and disbursement."

Thus carefully and skilfully was this general scheme of rebellion arranged; but the vigilance or vigour of government finally subverted all the

plans of the traitors. It was computed, that in May, 1797, the number of united Irishmen in Ulster alone amounted to nearly 100,000. The main strength of the union, indeed, lay in that province and in the metropolis, with the neighbouring counties of Kildare, Meath, Westmeath, and King's County. The other parts of the kingdom were comparatively quiet, but the disaffected took every means to disturb that repose. Emissaries were dispatched among the catholics of the west and south to create and foment discord. The most infamous falsehoods were resorted to in furtherance of this project. Fabricated accounts of dreadful massacres committed by the protestants upon the catholics were industriously circulated. The Orange-men were represented as having entered into the most solemn engagements to wade knee-deep, or even saddle deep, in the blood of the catholics if it should be necessary in order to subdue them. Pretended oaths, binding them to this dreadful purpose, were even printed and sedulously dispersed, in order to arm the catholics with the strongest of all resentments, those which spring from the necessity of self-defence. The Orange-men, on the other hand, publicly disavowed these oaths, and though the society was daily increasing, they were anxious to shew that they united only for legitimate and constitutional purposes.

In the summer of this year (1797) Mr. Lewins acted as the accredited minister of the Irish union

250 *Another invasion of Ireland projected.*

to negotiate with the French directory and the court of Spain for men, arms, and money. The executive of the union, however, wished only for so much assistance as might enable them to subvert the government, leaving the power of the country afterwards in their own hands. They were not ignorant that traitors often fell victims to their own snares, and that to invite a foreign state to assist in domestic rebellion commonly ended in the subjugation of the rebellious by their coadjutors. The French, on the other hand, were very naturally disinclined to lend any assistance which should not have for its ultimate object the retention of Ireland as a dependent conquest of that country. The memoir to the French directory, with which Dr. M'Neven was charged, fell into the hands of government—a proof of their vigilance or the treachery of some of the conspirators. From that memoir it appears, that the demands of the party went to a force not exceeding 10,000 and not less than 5000, with 40,000 stand of arms, and a proportionate supply of artillery, ammunition, engineers, experienced officers, &c. &c. The negotiation was prosperously carried on. The French directory sent a confidential person to London to collect information respecting the state of Ireland. He was met there by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and in consequence of what was then communicated great preparations both in the Texel and Brest were made for the invasion of Ireland. In the beginning of

October the approach of the French was confidently announced to the different societies throughout Ireland. The troops were actually on board, commanded by General Daendells, but they were suddenly disembarked. The Dutch fleet, contrary to the opinion of their own admiral, was ordered by the French government to put to sea. It did so, and the consequence was Lord Duncan's memorable victory off Camperdown.

The parliament, which had assembled this year year on the 6th of January, was, after several sittings and adjournments, prorogued on the 3d of July, and dissolved by proclamation on the 11th. In the English legislature Lord Moira and Fox both endeavoured to draw the attention of government to the condition of Ireland, in the hope that measures of conciliation and lenity might be adopted. Their efforts failed however. The majority in the Irish cabinet were bent upon coercion and severity, and their preponderance was so great that they utterly controlled the more pacific wishes of the viceroy.

The elections for the new parliament passed over in a manner which shewed that the people either had very little confidence in parliament, from the manner in which members were returned, or that they were anticipating results of a different description, and towards which no parliament could afford them aid. Mr. Grattan declined accepting any seat, and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, adopting the sentiments upon which that illustrious

252 *Views of the unionists display themselves.*

patriot had decided not to sit in parliament, identified his yet concealed traitorous intentions with the open and avowed motives of Grattan. The new parliament met, according to proclamation, on the 9th January, 1798, and Mr. Foster was re-elected speaker. On the 15th his excellency delivered a speech from the throne. It continued to sit and do business, but so little interest did the public take in their proceedings (agitated as that public was by rumours of a dreadful commotion near at hand) that the galleries were wholly deserted, and scarcely sufficient members attended to make a house.

Meanwhile the views of the unionists began to display themselves. Repeatedly disappointed in their expected succour from France, it became necessary that they should make one grand effort in behalf of the cause they had originated and fostered. Many parts of Leinster and Munster were in the actual possession of the united Irishmen. A military committee was appointed by the executive council of the rebels, detailed instructions were given to the adjutant-generals, and thanks were voted to the several colonels for their assiduity in embodying and organizing the people. Nocturnal insurrections became frequent. The town of Cahir, in Tipperary, was invested in open day by a party of 800 men, chiefly cavalry. They searched for arms, and evacuated it without further molestation. Murders and other atrocities drove many of the loyal inhabitants of the

counties of Cork, Limerick, Tipperary, Kilkenny, Carlow, King's County, Queen's County, Kildare, and Wicklow into garrison towns for safety. In this state of tumult it may easily be supposed that some excesses were committed by the military, and of course whenever those excesses were censured in parliament by pretended patriots, the ministers and their friends defended them as inevitable, if not absolutely necessary. Sir Ralph Abercrombie was appointed to the command of the army serving in Ireland, but he soon resigned, in consequence of some disagreement between him and the ministry as to the measures which ought to be pursued by the military. He was strongly disposed to employ lenity and forbearance, while government were as strongly determined to crush the monster that was rearing itself by force. Vigorous measures were indeed indispensable. The leaders of the union had been promised succours from France in April, but it appears the directory had not much confidence in their traitorous allies, for not only the succours never arrived, but it was never intimated to the rebel leaders where they intended to land. All was premeditated obscurity on their part, and unfounded hope on that of the Irish.

At this time (1798) Mr. Pelham, secretary to Lord Camden, resigned his situation from ill health, and he was succeeded in his office by Lord Castlereagh, a person well disposed to co-operate in an effectual furtherance of all the measures

already adopted by government. These measures, as has been already stated, were severe, yet they did not accomplish their object; for the complete discovery of the conspiracy and the conspirators was owing to the virtue or perfidy (it is doubtful which epithet it merits) of one Thomas Reynolds, a silk mercer of Dublin, and a catholic. This man completely wormed himself into the confidence of Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Oliver Bond, and in the year 1797 was appointed a colonel, then treasurer and representative of the county of Kildare, and at last delegate for the province of Leinster. Having settled his terms with Mr. Cope, a Dublin merchant, and having received 500 guineas in hand, he gave information that the Leinster delegates were to meet at Mr. Oliver Bond's on the 12th of March, to concert measures for an immediate insurrection. For these services he was rewarded with a sum of 5000*l.* and a yearly pension during life of 1500*l.* From the information of Reynolds the thirteen members of whom the provincial committee of Leinster was composed, were arrested on the 12th of March in the house of Oliver Bond, in Bridge-street, by William Bellingham Swan, an active magistrate, at the head of twelve serjeants disguised in coloured clothes. Their papers also were seized, and on the same day Messrs. Emmett, M'Neven, Bond, Henry Jackson, Hugh Jackson, and Sweetman, were taken into custody. Warrants were also granted against Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Messrs.

M'Cormick and Sampson who, having notice, made their escape. The vacancies made by these arrests in the councils of the Union, were soon filled by new elections; and to prevent despondency among the members of the members of the Union in general, a hand bill was industriously circulated in which were announced the safety of the arrested, a tenfold activity, a perfect organization of the capital, and in the following words, a caution against precipitate measures: "Again and again, we warn you against doing the work of your tyrants by *premature*, by *partial*, or *divided* exertion. If Ireland shall be forced to throw away the scabbard, let it be at her *own time*, not at *theirs*."

After this seizure of the delegates, a new directory was chosen which soon experienced the fate of the former. Their proceedings were disclosed, in a similar manner, by one who pretended to join with them in their treasonable purposes. This was a Captain Armstrong of the King's County Militia, who entered into the conspiracy solely with the view of disclosing its nature and object to government.

Now began the awful scene of civil fury. A proclamation was published, on the 30th of March, announcing the existence of a conspiracy against the government, and declaring that orders had been issued commanding the officers of his majesty's forces, to employ the most summary and effectual measures for the immediate suppression

256 *Military proceedings in the different counties.*

of that conspiracy, and for disarming the rebels and all disaffected persons. On the 3d of April, a manifesto was issued from the general's headquarters, addressed to the inhabitants of Kildare, requiring them to surrender their arms in the space of ten days, threatening in case of non-compliance, to distribute large bodies of troops among them to live at free quarters, promising reward to such as would give information of concealed arms or ammunition, and denouncing further severities if the county should still continue in a disturbed state. Similar notices were given on the advance of the military into each county, and after the expiration of ten days the troops were quartered on the houses of the disaffected or suspected, in numbers proportioned to the supposed guilt and ability of the owners. Some tenements were burned, while many individuals were daily scourged, picketed, or otherwise put to torture to force confessions of concealed arms or plots. Various other excesses were committed. Persons who were imprisoned on suspicion or private information, were sometimes half-hanged, or strangled almost to death, before their innocence or guilt could be ascertained by trial. These calamities every one must deplore, but they are incident to a state of civil commotion, where neither the eye of authority, nor the power of the law can always be effectual. They form the melancholy consequence of crime, which, when general, often devolves punishment upon the inno-

cent; for what can stop the resentment and passions of a multitude acting from public and private feelings? It would be impossible to devise any plan, any scheme of government, any degree of vigilance competent to restrain, or punish unauthorized excesses, when a nation is agitated and torn by internal faction and open rebellion. Individuals may complain, and with justice perhaps, of personal injuries and grievances sustained; but they form no reproach to the executive government of a country so circumstanced. They only form a powerful lesson of morality to the people, by forcibly shewing what are the inevitable results of seditious tumult.

Every faction has its symbol. *Cavalier* and *Roundhead*—*Whig* and *Tory*—*Aristocrat* and *Democrat*—*Guelph* and *Ghibbeline*—*Jacobin* and *Royalist*—have been the fatal designations, in various ages, by which contending parties were known, and under which the worst crimes have been committed. Ireland was not without her symbol; the term *croppy* became synonymous with rebel, and was applied indiscriminately to every person who wore his hair short in the neck. It had been considered in England as a token of republicanism; but in Ireland it was regarded as indicative of active rebellion, and many innocent persons fell victims to the inference. Members of the Union, had also adopted green from the colour of the shamrock, and this was another fatal token for any one to display. A barbarous prac-

tice prevailed of applying to the head of any person wearing short hair, caps of coarse linen or strong brown paper, smeared with pitch on the inside which in some instances adhered so firmly as not to be disengaged without laceration of the skin. The rebels retaliated, however, by forcibly seizing persons of loyal demeanour, cropping their heads, and thus exposing them, in return, to the application of the pitched cap.

As the time for insurrection fixed by the conspirators, of which the government was fully informed, approached, the arresting of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, became an object of vast importance; because of his military skill, capacity, and courage. He had escaped the arrest at Bond's, on the 12th of the preceeding March, and a reward of a thousand pounds had been offered for his apprehension. On the 19th of May, it was discovered that he lodged at the house of one Murphy, a featherman, in Thomas Street. Thither Major Sirr, attended by Justice Swan, captain in the Revenue corps, and Captain Ryan of the St. Sepulchre's, accompanied by eight soldiers disguised, repaired in coaches. "While they were posting the soldiers," says Plowden, "in such a manner as to prevent the possibility of an escape, Captain Swan, perceiving a woman running hastily up stairs, for the purpose as he supposed of alarming Lord Edward, followed her with the utmost speed; and, on entering an apartment found Lord Edward lying on a bed in his

dressing jacket. He approached the bed and informed his lordship that he had a warrant against him, and that resistance would be vain; assuring him at the same time that he would treat him with the utmost respect. Lord Edward sprung from the bed and snapped a pistol which missed fire, at Captain Swan; he then closed with him, drew a dagger, gave him a wound in the hand, and different wounds in the body; one of them, under the ribs, was deep and dangerous, and bled most copiously. At that moment Captain Ryan entered, and missed fire at Lord Edward, with a pocket pistol; on which he made a lunge at him with a sword cane which bent on his ribs; but affected him so much that he threw himself on the bed, and Captain Ryan closing with him, a violent scuffle ensued, during which Lord Edward plunged the dagger into his side. They then fell on the ground where Captain Ryan received many desperate wounds; one of which, in the lower part of his belly was so large that his bowels fell out on the floor. Major Sirr, having entered the room, saw Captain Swan bleeding, and Lord Edward advancing toward the door, while Captain Ryan, weltering in blood on the floor, was holding him by one leg and Captain Swan by the other; he therefore fired at Lord Edward with a pistol, and wounded him in the shoulder, on which he cried out for mercy and surrendered himself. His lordship was then conveyed to the castle. Some

attempts to rescue him, were defeated by the arrival of the guards."

On the nineteenth and twenty first of the same month, other arrests of conspirators were made, particularly of Henry and John Sheares, brothers, both barristers, and much beloved and respected in the profession. In the house of Henry, in Baggot Street, in the hand writing of John, was found a proclamation, intended to be published after the capital should have been in the possession of the insurgents. In this manifesto very sanguinary sentiments were expressed, said to be provoked from the rebel directory, by the severe measures of government. The former members of the directory, (according to the examinations of Emmet, before a committee of the lords) had intended to avoid blood shed as much as possible; to seize as hostages, men of property; and, on the accomplishment of a revolution to banish those who should prove disaffected to the new government, allowing to their wives and children a maintenance out of their properties.

On the 21st of May, Lord Castlereagh wrote to the Lord Mayor, to acquaint him, "that his excellency had discovered that the disaffected in the city and neighbourhood of Dublin had formed a plan of possessing themselves in the course of the present week of the metropolis, and of seizing the executive government, and those of authority in the city." On the 22d a similar communication was made to the house of commons.

The night of the 23rd of May had been fixed for the time of insurrection. The plan was to commence with an attack on the camp of Lehaunstown, or Laughlinstown seven miles to the South of Dublin. Another party was to seize the artillery stationed at Chapelizod, two miles to the west of the same, in an hour after. Later, by an hour and a half was to be the simultaneous entrance of the two parties into the metropolis, to co-operate with a third by whom the Castle was to be surprised, the stoppage of the mail coaches, on the northern, western, and southern roads, was to be the signal to the members of the Union in other parts of the kingdom to rise in arms. Notwithstanding the late discoveries and arrests, it was impossible to prevent the explosion which had been so long maturing. The metropolis however, was so guarded at every post as to prevent a possibility of surprise: the guards at the Castle were trebled, and the whole city converted into a besieged garrison. Troops were also stationed throughout the country, and the companies of yeomen strengthened by the addition of new levies without uniform, called supplementaries.

In spite of all these precautions, however, the expected insurrection took place. The peasants in the districts around the city of Dublin, without leaders, with scarcely any ammunition, or other arms than clumsy pikes and a few guns in bad order, rose at the time appointed, the night

262 *Attacks of the rebels on various places*

of the 23rd of May, and so far acted on the original scheme, as to attempt, by simultaneous onsets, the surprisal of the military posts, and the preclusion of the capital from external succour. The mail coaches were destroyed in their progress from Dublin, at a few miles distance, to give notice to their confederates of hostilities being commenced; and in that night and the following day several skirmishes took place with small parties of the royal troops, and several towns were attacked near the seat of government. In all these skirmishes the insurgents were defeated, except at Dunboyne, and Barretstown where small escorts were surprised, of the Reay fencibles at the former, and of the Suffolk fencibles at the latter. They were also repulsed in their attempts on the several towns except Prosperous a lately improved village in the county of Kildare, intended for the seat of a cotton manufactory, seventeen miles from Dublin. Here the garrison was surprised, the barrack fired, thirty-seven soldiers perished in the flames or by the pikes of the assailants, together with their commander, Captain Swayne, of the North Cork Militia. On the same morning (the 24th) engagements took place at Naas and Kilcullen. Lord Gosford commanded in the former place, and being apprised of the intended attack, was enabled by timely arrangements to repulse them with great loss. Many were taken prisoners and immediately hanged. The attack on the latter

place was equally disastrous to the rebels; but, in both these skirmishes the king's troops lost many men and some officers.

Hostilities were now openly commenced between government and the rebels, and proclamations were immediately issued by General Lake, (the successor of Abercrombie as commander of the king's forces) by the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and by the viceroy. The purport of the first was to notify the determination of the general to use all necessary rigour, and to command persons not in military uniforms, (except they were legislative or magisterial characters) to remain within their houses from nine o'clock at night till five in the morning. The second, required all persons in Dublin, possessing registered arms, to furnish exact lists of them; and those who had not registered, to surrender whatever arms or ammunition they possessed; and every house-keeper to affix on the outside of his door a list of the names of all persons resident in his house, distinguishing strangers from those who made actually a part of his family. The third gave notice that orders were conveyed to all his majesty's general officers in Ireland, to punish, according to martial law, by death or otherwise, as their judgment should approve, all persons acting, or in any manner assisting, in the rebellion. Government continued to increase their coercion, and *it is said*, that "picketings, stranglings, torturings, and floggings, to extort confession," were practised under the

very eye of the administration, without any attempt on its part to check measures so manifestly subversive of the constitution. Admitting the charge against government to be true, it remains to be shewn that milder proceedings would as effectually have secured the peace of the capital: and as to the outcry raised against these severities as being unconstitutional, they were more easily affirmed to be so, than proved such. The constitution—that mysterious and convenient word, which every demagogue has in his mouth when treachery is in his heart, and ignorance in his mind—admirable as it is in all its parts, and confessedly the proudest monument of human wisdom which the history of mankind presents—was framed by man, a fallible and limited being, who can accomplish much for present blessings, and a little for future, but who must leave still more to be done by succeeding generations. The constitution, (to speak as indefinitely as its factious admirers) could not foresee every possible case of peril and delinquency that might arise in the progress of time: the constitution could not anticipate every local and temporary emergency; unless it had been formed by Omniscience it could not know all the thousand contingencies, all the emergencies, which the current lapse of years might produce. Something, even in the wisest scheme of government that mere man can establish, must be left to the discretion of the executive, and the peculiar necessities of great conjunctures will

Defeat of the rebels at the hill of Tara. 265

sometimes compel a minister, however reluctantly, to resort to measures which in better times would amount to treason against the majesty of that constitution, thus inevitably but unwillingly violated. Before, then, the severities exercised by the Irish government, (admitting the most exaggerated accounts of them to be true) are stigmatized as sanguinary and needless, let it be satisfactorily shewn that proceedings of a more lenient and conciliatory character could have been wisely and safely adopted. If this cannot be shewn, we may lament the needful rigour of insulted power, but we cannot condemn it.

Several unsuccessful attacks were made by the rebels on the 24th of May, namely, at Carlow, Hacketstown, Monastereven, and other places. At Dunboyne and Barretstown, they had the advantage. The most serious defeat they sustained was on the 26th of May. A body of three or four thousand had posted themselves on the hill of Tara, where they were attacked and defeated by the king's troops, which discomfiture was of the more importance, as it opened the communication between the metropolis and the northern counties. Discouraged by these and other defeats, some of the rebels began to wish for a safe retreat from a perilous cause, and on the 28th General Dundas received a message from a rebel chief, named Perkins, commanding 2000 men, posted on an eminence near the Curragh, that his men would surrender their arms, on condition of their

266 *Disaffection appears in the county of Wexford.*

being permitted to return unmolested to their habitations, and of the liberation of Perkins's brother from the jail of Naas. The general consulted the castle, and the terms were acceded to. Thirteen cart-loads of pikes were left behind them.

Notwithstanding the many and severe defeats of the insurgents, the rebellion still continued to spread. Almost the whole county of Kildare was in a state of open revolt: and now an insurrection burst forth with fury in a part where it was least expected. The county of Wexford had not been otherwise than very imperfectly organized, and many of its catholic inhabitants had addressed the lord lieutenant through Earl Mountmorris, protesting their loyalty and pledging themselves to arm, if permitted, in defence of government, when occasion should occur. Hitherto, the endeavour to identify the terms papist and rebel, had not been wholly successful; the contest therefore had not assumed a decided character of religious warfare. Almost all the chiefs and leaders of the rebels were protestants, though, as the mass of the people were catholics, the great body of the rebels were, of course, of that religion. The great and prevailing distinction hitherto acted upon, was that of Orange Men and United Irishmen; the respective emblems of which were orange and green cockades. It was natural therefore, that the catholics of the county of Wexford should be anxious to testify their loyalty;

but their anxiety was of no avail. Whether, indeed the spirit of insubordination would have manifested itself at all in the county of Wexford, may be questioned: but it seems agreed, on all hands, that the injudicious rigour of the subordinate agents of government certainly tended to hasten that event. House burnings, stranglings and the lash, exasperated the feelings of men who were perhaps disposed to be neutral, if not actively loyal; but when they found that virtue and fidelity enjoyed no immunity over vice and treachery, mere self-defence drove them to revolt.

Whatever may have been the immediate cause, the standard of rebellion was hoisted in the night of the 26th of May, by John Murphy, coadjutor or curate to the parish priest of Boulavogue, a man described as shallow in intellect, fanatical in opinion, and ferocious in conduct. In the county of Wexford there had long existed a rivalry bordering on rancour, between the protestants and catholics. The commotion was sudden, violent, and extensive. On the following day, Whitsunday, two bodies of armed men appeared on the hills of Oulart and Kiltomas: the former ten miles to the north of Wexford, the latter nine to the west of Gorey. Their numbers increased rapidly, from the reports that men were shot in the roads, at work in the fields, and even in their houses, unarmed and unoffending, by straggling parties of yeomen. The insurgents

on Kiltomas hill, were soon dispersed by the fire of two or three hundred yeomen. They killed 150 in the pursuit, and burned a hundred cabins, and two Roman catholic chapels, in a march of seven miles. At Oulart, Father Murphy commanded: A detachment of the North Cork Militia, under Lieut. Col. Tooke, dispersed the rebels at first, and pursued them up a hill. When they arrived nearly at the summit, about three hundred of the fugitives rallied, turned round upon their breathless pursuers, and with the loss of only three killed and six wounded on their side, they slew the whole detachment, except the lieutenant colonel, a serjeant, and three privates.

Flushed with success, while the country round was in state of terror and distress, not easily described, the rebels, headed by their priestly chief, marched next day to Camolin. In their progress they multiplied their numbers. Here they found a quantity of fire arms (800 in number) which had been sent by Earl Mountmorris for his yeoman's use. This was a formidable accession to their strength. They next proceeded to Ferns, and afterwards followed the fugitive loyalists to Enniscorthy. They appeared before this place at one o'clock in the afternoon; about 7000 strong, of whom 800 were provided with fire arms, the remainder carrying pikes. After a furious but irregular assault, the garrison, consisting of three hundred yeomen and volunteers, were compelled to retire, and they retreated towards Wexford, go-

accompanied by most of the loyal people in the place. Enniscorthy was in flames: the rebels, for want of unanimity in their councils, undecided how to act. At length they resolved to attack Wexford, already a scene of terror and confusion from the arrival of the fugitives, and the perception of flames and smoke extending in a line from Wexford to Enniscorthy. Three gentlemen of the county, Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, John Henry Colclough, and Henry Fitzgerald, were then in prison, arrested upon private information. The two latter, at the instance of some officers, undertook to address in person the insurgents at Enniscorthy, and persuade them to disperse. The rebels had taken post at Vinegar Hill, an eminence at whose foot stands the town of Enniscorthy, where they had formed what they called a camp, and whence they daily garrisoned the town by an officer's guard. Here they were found, by the two gentlemen, and they soon formed the resolution of retaining Fitzgerald as a leader, and marching to Wexford. Colclough they dismissed to carry the information of their resolves.

To detail the spoliations and excesses committed alternately by the rebels and king's troops, would be an irksome, and not a very necessary labour. General Fawcett, who commanded in this district, advanced to Tagmon, but, hearing that his van-guard of eighty eight men had been surprised and destroyed, under Three Rocks by the rebels, he retreated to Duncannon. It was

now resolved, in a council of war, to evacuate the town, having no adequate force to maintain it against the rebels in consequence of the retreat of General Fawcett. Harvey (one of those already mentioned as being in prison) at the request of the officers, wrote a letter of intreaty to the rebels to act with humanity; and two gentlemen of the name of Richards, members of a yeomen company, undertook the dangerous task of delivering this letter, and announcing to the insurgents the surrendry of the place. The retreat immediately commenced, but in a very disorderly way. Every one went whither he thought the safest, and all the troops evacuated the town before the inhabitants were apprised of it, so that many of them were left to the mercy of the rebels, who entered in a tumultuary manner, and could scarcely be prevented from acts of cruelty and spoliation. Great numbers of the inhabitants took refuge in the ships that were in the harbour, hoping to escape to England; but all returned, except two, when summoned by boats from the insurgents, and relanded their passengers.

Alternate success on the part of the king's troops and the rebels now took place in various skirmishes. The former prevailed at Ballycannoo and at Newtownbarry: the latter defeated a small force under Colonel Walpole (a relation of Lord Camden, and described as more fond of dress than tactics, being mounted on a beautiful white charger, in full uniform and plumage) and took

three pieces of artillery. They next advanced to New Ross, in two bodies, one under the command of Edward Roche, on the north, and another still more formidable under the command of Mr. Harvey, penetrated to the south west. The conquest of New Ross would have opened the communication with the disaffected in the counties of Waterford and Kilkenny, in which many thousands were supposed ready to rise in arms at the appearance of their successful confederates. The possession of the town was obstinately contested for ten hours: sometimes the rebels prevailed: but intent on plunder, and intoxicated, they were again repulsed: then they rallied, regained their former ground, again devoted themselves to plunder, were again driven back, and finally the king's troops retained possession of the place. Lord Mountjoy, who commanded the Dublin Militia, fell early in the day.

The fugitive rebels who fled from this contest, shewed that they were dastardly enough to wreak upon helpless persons that savage ferocity of character which, but for want of courage, they would have inflicted upon their armed opponents. In the dwelling house and barn of Mr. King of Scullabogue, at the foot of Carrickburn mountain, a number of loyalists of both sexes, among whom were at least seven catholics, were confined, collected from the neighbouring country as hostages for the safety of such rebels as should become prisoners to the royalists. Urging that the

bearer of their flag of truce had been shot, that the prisoners of their party had been massacred at Dunlavin and Carnew, by the royal troops, and that a similar scene was now acted in Ross, they forced the guard, shot thirty-seven confined in the dwelling house, and setting fire to the barn caused all who were within it to perish in the flames. About one hundred persons were thus cruelly massacred in cold blood by these unrelenting savages.

After some days of comparative inactivity, the rebels marched northward, with a view to co-operate with the insurgents of Wicklow in an attack upon Acklow. This post, it is said, they might have seized any day, through the negligence and misconduct of government, except that on which they attempted it, when fortunately a reinforcement of royal troops, under Colonel Skerret, arrived in the garrison. Had this not been the case, and the rebels had been successful they might have continued their course to the immediate vicinity of the capital, where numerous bodies of the disaffected were remaining only till such a signal should give them courage to avow themselves. Luckily, however, they were defeated; before Acklow, with the loss of three or four hundred men, and immediately retreated back to Gorey. "The importance of this repulse," says Mr. Gordon, "can be fully appreciated only by those who know in what state the country then was, the general indiscipline then prevalent in the royal

army here, and the danger to which the capital would have been exposed, if the insurgents had gained Arklow and followed the blow."

Turning with horror from the dreadful scenes of murder committed in Wexford, chiefly under the direction, and entirely at the instigation of an "infuriate monster of the name of Dixon, a captain of a trading vessel," we shall hasten to bring the account of this calamitous period to a close. The north had hitherto remained quiet; not because disaffection did not prevail, but because the disaffected wanted an organised system of action, and were waiting to know what success had attended the southern rebels. Consequently, when they heard of the proceedings in Wexford, and of the three victories gained in succession over the royal army, a rising spirit of insubordination began to shew itself in the vicinity of Antrim. A considerable number assembled on the 7th of June, but were dispersed by the troops under General Nugent, with the loss of near two hundred men. Unsuccessful attempts were also made by small parties at Larne, Ballymena, and Ballycastle: but the insurgents were given to understand, that the rest of the northerners would not second their efforts, because they had received intelligence that the war in the south had assumed a completely religious complexion, and the protestants justly feared that if they assisted the catholics in overthrowing the government, the next overthrow would be their own, whenever the

former should obtain a sufficient ascendancy. A lucky conviction this, on the protestant mind, as an effectual co-operation between the north and south must have ended in a successful resistance to the royal authority: the mal-contents (who were mostly protestants) however relinquished all thoughts of further warfare; and breaking, throwing away, or surrendering their weapons, dispersed to their several homes. Partial insurrection also shewed itself in the county of Down; and an action between some insurgents and the royal troops took place at Ballynahinch, in the demesne of Lord Moira. They amounted to about 4000, but were soon dispersed, and finally separated from the same motives as had influenced the disaffected in Antrim. Some of the leaders were executed.

The abandonment of rebellion in the northern province, while the rest of the kingdom, with a small exception, remained in a state of quiet, left the insurgents in the county of Wexford, to contend almost alone against the royal troops. The town of Wexford was the prime seat of rebellion in the south. It remained in the possession of the rebel force from the 30th of May to the 21st of June, during which time it was the scene of many horrors. Since their repulses at Ross and Arklow, they were reduced to defensive warfare, and could only hope to maintain some posts until forces should arrive to their assistance from France. During this period, Vinegar Hill, with the town of Enniscorthy at its

Signal defeat of the rebels at Vinegar Hill. 275

foot, became the scene of the most dreadful butcheries. Horrors and incessant apprehensions of death, attended the hapless protestants, who fell into the hands of the rebels. A few were assassinated on the spot, where they were caught, but most of them were dragged to Vinegar Hill, where, after a sham trial, and often without even the form of such a trial, they were shot or transfixed with pikes: many lashed, or otherwise barbarously treated before their final execution.

This state of tumult, bloodshed and insubordination could not long continue. It was necessary it should be brought to a conclusion either by the vigour of government, or the ascendancy of the insurgents. Accordingly on the 21st of June, at seven in the morning, a royal force of at least 13,000 effective men, with a formidable train of artillery, was to commence an attack from all quarters at once on the great station of Vinegar Hill, where probably were posted 20,000 of the rebels: but these were almost wholly destitute of ammunition. The attack began with the firing of cannon and mortars. All the divisions were at their respective posts, except that of General Needham, who either from neglect or accident, did not arrive at his appointed position till nine, when the business was over. The rebels, after sustaining the fire of the artillery and small arms for an hour and a half, fled through the passage which lay open from the non-arrival of General Needham. The commonly entertained opinion is, that this

opening had been designedly left by the general for the enemy's retreat, in order to avoid the dreadful slaughter that might have ensued had the rebels found themselves hemmed in on all sides. If so, policy and humanity, dictated the arrangement, but if it arose from negligence, much censure would attach to General Needham*. The fugitive rebels directed their course towards Wexford. They left behind them a quantity of rich plunder, with thirteen pieces of ordinance. The loss on the side of the king's forces was inconsiderable.

The royal troops obtained possession of Wexford on the same day as Enniscorthy. General Moore, at the head of about 1200 men had, on the evening of the 20th, been intercepted by an army of five or six thousand led from Three Rocks by Philip Roche, at Goff's bridge near the church of Horetown. A smart contest ensued, in which the rebels were defeated. Joined by two regiments under Lord Dalhousie, the army took post on the field of battle, and on the morning of the 21st was proceeding to Taghmon, when two gentlemen arrived with proposals from the inhabitants of Wexford, to surrender the town on condition that their lives and properties should be guaranteed by his majesty's generals. Moore forwarded these proposals to the commander in chief, (General Lake) who returned for answer, that no

* It seems to have been General Lake's design to oblige the whole multitude to surrender, and thus put an end to the rebellion; a wise measure if it had been practicable.

terms could be granted to rebels in arms; but that the deluded multitude might have peace and protection, when their arms and leaders should have been delivered into his hands. Lord Kingsborough, Colonel of the North Cork Militia, who was a prisoner in the town, promised them full security if they complied with those conditions.

The insurgents were with difficulty prevailed on by their chiefs to quit the town. They divided themselves into two bodies; one, under the command of the Rev. Philip Roche, marched into the barony of Forth, and encamped that night at Sledagh; the other, under the conduct of Messrs. Fitzgerald, Perry, and Edward Roche, proceeded over the bridge to Peppard's Castle, where they took their station for that night. When General Lake, arrived at Wexford on the 22d, he found General Moore in possession of it. Many persons who remained, upon the faith of Lord Kingsborough's assurances of safety, were immediately apprehended and suffered death. Philip Roche, likewise, coming alone to Wexford to settle with his majesty's generals the manner in which his troops were to surrender and disperse, was seized, maltreated in a manner quite shocking to humanity *, and committed to prison.

* He was instantly dragged from his horse, and in the most ignominious manner taken up to the camp on the Windmill Hill, pulled by the hair, kicked, buffeted, and at length hauled, down to the gaol in such a condition as scarcely to be recognized.

These acts of apparent perfidy had an injurious effect. His followers, as soon as they were made acquainted with his fate, regarding their case as desperate, marched away to the county of Carlow, under the conduct of John Murphy, the priest who had first raised the flag of insurrection in the county of Wexford.

The great system of rebellion, however, as it had been originally organized was now broken up, and though a few skirmishes took place between the insurgents and the royal troops, and many barbarities were committed especially by the former, nothing like a general or vigorous course of operations was proceeded upon. Reduced in their numbers, and hunted in every quarter by various bodies of royal troops, they made a flying march in the counties of Kildare, Meath, Louth, and Dublin, skirmishing with such parties of the king's forces as overtook or intercepted them, and bearing the various hardships of their peculiar warfare with an amazing strength of body, and a vigour of mind well worthy of a better cause. With the final dispersion of the Wexfordian insurgents the rebellion was terminated; but the fatal consequences to those concerned in it, did not so soon end.

CHAP. X.

Lord Cornwallis succeeds Earl Camden as viceroy—Change of measures introduced—An act of amnesty passed—Many of the chief conspirators admitted to a capitulation with government—Acts of attainder against Lord E. Fitzgerald, Cornelius Grogan, and Bagenal Harvey—Invasion of Ireland by the French—Land at Killybegs—Account of their proceedings—Frustrated in their hopes—Parliament prorogued—Increase of the Orange system, and by what means.

IT was thought necessary by the government at home, that some change should be adopted in the administration of the affairs of Ireland at this imminent and perilous crisis. Earl Camden was therefore recalled, and succeeded by the Marquis Cornwallis, who assumed the civil government and supreme military command (a union which it was found requisite to make in the same individual) on the 21st. June, 1798. "This appointment," says Mr. Plowden, "was under Providence the salvation of Ireland." It was a special instruction to his lordship to put down the rebellion by moderation, and to check the ferocity of the

Orange system by firmness. On the 28th of June General Lake was recalled from Wexford, and General Hunter appointed in his stead. The first prominent act of the marquis, to close the system of blood and terror which had been hitherto acted upon, was a proclamation authorising his majesty's generals to give protection to such insurgents as, being simply guilty of rebellion, should surrender their arms, abjure all unlawful engagements, and take the oath of allegiance to the king. The full sanction of law was given to this measure by a message from his excellency to the house of commons on the 17th July, signifying his majesty's pleasure to that effect; and an act of amnesty was accordingly passed in favour of all engaged in the rebellion, who had not been leaders, who had not committed manslaughter except in the heat of battle, and who should comply with the conditions mentioned in the proclamation*.

His arrival, however, could not immediately close the system. Trials by court-martial, and executions in the usual manner, proceeded at Wexford immediately after its surrendering, and several men suffered as leaders of rebellion. Their names and sufferings need not be recorded.

The act of amnesty being passed, the surviving chief leaders were admitted to a capitulation by government, partly through the interference of

* James Napper Tandy and about thirty others, mostly fugitives in France, were excluded from the benefit of this act.

Counsellor Dobbs. That gentleman was a member of parliament, and he went, along with the sheriff, to the prison in which Mr. Arthur O'Connor was confined, on the 24th July. He had with him a paper signed by 70 state prisoners, purporting to give such information as was in their power, of arms, ammunition, their schemes of warfare, the internal regulations, and foreign negotiations of the united Irishmen, provided the lives of Messrs. Bond and Byrne should be spared. The paper or contract further engaged, that they were not to implicate any person whatever by name or description; that they should emigrate to some country particularised by mutual agreement; and that they should give security for their not passing into the territories of any state at war with Great Britain, and for their not returning to Ireland without the permission of government. Oliver Bond, though under sentence of death, was included in this capitulation, but he died of an apoplexy in prison. Several principals of the union, particularly O'Connor, Emmett, M'Nevin, and Samuel Nelson, gave details on oath, in their examinations before the secret committee of both houses of parliament, in whose Reports, published by authority of government, is contained a mass of information concerning the conspiracy. Whatever were the original terms of the contract, or by whatever subsequent events the contractors were influenced or affected, 15 principal conspirators were detained in prison during the conti-

282 *Posthumous attainder of Lord E. Fitzgerald.*

nfluence of the war with France; and in a pamphlet, styled a Letter from Arthur O'Connor to Lord Castlereagh, dated from prison, Jan. 4, 1799, that minister is directly charged with a violation of the contract. The truth or falsehood of this charge, as it has never been repelled by the accused, must be determined by the probabilities of the thing itself, and the degree of credit due to the testimony of the writer.

Notwithstanding the disastrous state of the country, the parliament continued to sit from time to time, as exigencies required. On the 17th of July the attorney-general brought forward a bill for the attainder of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Cornelius Grogan, and Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, deceased; for which purpose several witnesses were heard at the bar. Similar proceedings were also had in the house of lords. This act of severity and supplementary vengeance upon the unoffending widow and orphan appeared to many rather the posthumous issue of the late, than the genuine offspring of the present system*. A bill also passed for granting compensation to such of his majesty's loyal subjects as had sustained losses in their property in consequence of the late rebellion, and commissioners were named for carrying it into effect. The sum total of the claims

* Mr. Curran was heard at the bar of the commons in behalf of the widow of Lord E. Fitzgerald, (a daughter of the Duke of Orleans,) and part of his pathetic appeal may be seen in Appendix, No. VII.

amounted to one million and twenty-three thousand pounds, of which five hundred and fifteen thousand belonged to the county of Wexford. It is thought, however, that though the estimates were in some cases above, yet in others they were below the real loss sustained by at least one-third. Probably the whole detriment may not have fallen short of three millions.

While the viceroy was actively engaged in plans for putting the military force into such a train that it might be speedily assembled in any part of the kingdom where expediency should require, intelligence arrived of a French invasion. Happily, however, for the interests and safety of Ireland, perhaps of the British empire, the French government, at this time, was guided by men of feeble character, incapable of taking a decided part at this momentous crisis. They suffered the period when Ireland was in a state of actual rebellion to pass by without affording any aid to the insurgents; and now, when it was quelled by the firmness of government, they dispatched an inconsiderable force thither, from whose co-operation no important results could possibly flow. They landed at Killala on the 22d of August, 1798, under the command of General Humbert. They entered the bay under English colours, and the feint succeeded so well that two sons of the Bishop of Killala, who had thrown themselves into a fishing-boat, were presently surprised to

find themselves prisoners *. Humbert was one of those revolutionary generals who had risen from ignorance and poverty to affluence and command; yet, though he could scarcely write his name, he was an excellent officer, prompt in his movements, and decisive in his operations. He had been second in command to Hoche, when the ill-fated expedition sailed to Bantry-Bay.

When the French landed, the whole armed force of this place did not exceed 50 men, and they were all protestants. They fled, after a vain attempt to oppose the entrance of the French vanguard, leaving two of their party dead, and 21 prisoners, among whom were their officers. On the following day a detachment of the French advanced towards Ballina, seven miles to the south of Killala, defeated the picket guards, and took possession of that town on the night of the 24th, the garrison of which retired to Foxford, ten miles further to the south.

Though the military arrangements of the vice-roy were not completed, a force more than sufficient, at least in appearance, was quickly dispatched to the point of attack. On the 25th General Hutchinson arrived at Castlebar from Galway, where he was joined on the following night by General Lake, the chief commander in the west. General Humbert marched to oppose these

* The Bishop of Killala (Dr. Stock) wrote an interesting and authentic narrative of this transaction.

Disgraceful flight of the royal troops. 285

troops. His force consisted of 800 French, fatigued and sleepless, and about 1000 Irish peasants who had joined his standard. He had no other artillery than two small curricule guns. To him was opposed an army fresh and vigorous, advantageously posted, with a well-served train of 14 cannons. The number of this army has been variously stated, from 6000 to 1100; the lowest computation consistent at all with probability amounts to 2300, but it is thought by a writer likely to know the truth, (the Rev. Mr. Gordon) that it exceeded at least 3000. The French leaders of course concluded that nothing was left for them but a surrender to such a superiority. They made an attack, however, on the enemy's flank, and such a disgraceful panick seized the royal troops that they hastily fled in all directions, leaving their artillery and ammunition behind them. They ran 80 miles in 27 hours! nor did they stop till they reached Athlone. Perhaps indeed they would not have halted here, had they not been met by the viceroy in person, who was so deeply impressed with the dangers attending this invasion upon the close of a rebellion, that he left the capital in order to conduct himself, the military operations. When he arrived at Athlone he was informed, by many who had fled from the field of battle, that the French had pursued the army of General Lake to Tuam, driven it thence, and seized that post. In fact, they had never moved further in that line than Castlebar.

The motions of the main army immediately under the personal command of the viceroy were calculated to cover the country, to intimidate the abettors of rebellion and to afford an opportunity of rallying to any smaller bodies of troops which might be defeated. After several slight skirmishes, for none deserved the name of a battle, the French troops found themselves so surrounded at Ballynamuck that after an ineffectual resistance they all surrendered, while the peasantry who had joined them and to whom quarter was denied, fled in dismay. They were about 1500 in number, five hundred of whom were killed by their pursuers. The troops of Humbert were found, after their surrender to consist of 748 privates, and ninety six officers. Thus, his loss appears to have been 256 from his first landing in Ireland.

Though the French aid was thus annihilated, rebellion in a very diminutive shape continued to shew itself in the west: but by vigorous measures immediately adopted, it was finally suppressed. Killala, which had been thirty-two days in the possession of the French, was taken by storm from the insurgents who defended it under the command of a French officer; and thus terminated another effort on the part of France to revolutionize Ireland. The little army of Humbert, however, was only intended as the vanguard of a more formidable preparation which happily sailed too late to be of any effect. In the interim, a brig from France arrived at the little isle of

Defeat of the French fleet off Donegal. 287

Rutland, near the north west coast of Donegal, on the 16th of September and landed its crew. Among these was James Napper Tandy, well known as an active personage in the system of United Irishmen, and now bearing the title of general of brigade in the French service. Informed of the surrendery of Humbert's troops, and unable to excite by their manifestoes an insurrection in that quarter, they reembarked and abandoned the shores of Ireland. Tandy was afterwards arrested at Hamburgh by some British agents; and though the laws of neutrality were thus flagrantly violated, yet the Emperor of Russia's authority was used to intimidate the Hamburghers into an acquiescence. Tandy was tried at Lifford, at the spring assizes for 1801, he pleaded guilty; was condemned; was pardoned as to life; emigrated to France, and died there soon after.

At length, on the 11th of Oct. the principal French armament appeared near the coast of Donegal. It consisted of one ship of the line named the Hoche, and eight frigates, with four or five thousand soldiers. They were prevented from landing, and on the next day were pursued, and overtaken by Sir John Borlase Warren. An engagement ensued. The Hoche was captured, the frigates made sail to escape, but six were taken in the chase. Another squadron of three frigates, with 2000 men for land service, destined to co-

operate with the former, anchored in the bay of Killybegs on the 27th of the same month: but on the appearance of some hostile ships, set sail with precipitation homeward and escaped pursuit. Theobald Wolfe Tone, who had rendered himself so conspicuous in the early period of the Irish union, was found on board the *Hoche* when captured by Admiral Warren. He was tried by a court martial in the capital and found guilty. He rested his defence upon being a denizen of France. Condemned to death, he requested the indulgence of being shot as a soldier, instead of being hung as a felon. It was refused, and he cut his throat in prison, of which he died on the 29th of Nov.—The wound was not thought mortal. Before his death a motion was made in his majesty's court of king's bench, then sitting, to arrest execution, grounded on an affidavit sworn by the father of the prisoner, that he had been tried, convicted, and sentenced to die, on a charge of high treason, before a court martial, though he did not belong to his majesty's army, while his majesty's court of king's bench was sitting, before which the prisoner might have been tried in the ordinary way. Mr. Curran, moved for an *habeas corpus* to bring up the prisoner *instantly* which was granted, but he could not be removed into court without danger of instant death. The return of the writ of *habeas corpus*, was postponed for some days, during which he died. "Thus ignominiously ended a

man," says Mr. Plowden, "whose qualities and talents, if rightly directed, would have graced the noblest cause."

On the 16th of October, parliament was prorogued in the usual form and his excellency delivered a very interesting speech.

We are now approaching to that period, which produced an incorporate union between the two countries. It was in the special commission from the British cabinet to Marquis Cornwallis to bring about that measure: and before we enter upon the discussions which the question produced, it may not be unacceptable to the reader to peruse a curious document relative to a union between the two countries in the seventeenth century. It is extracted from a rare publication, the *Miscellanea Aulica*.

A Proposal of several Officers and other Gentlemen of English Extraction in IRELAND, for an Union of that Kingdom with ENGLAND.

His majesties good subjects of *Ireland*, upon the hearing of a proposal not long since made for the uniting *England* and *Scotland*, with all obedience and submission, humbly conceive it a means conducive thereto; if the like union of *England* and *Ireland*, under one legislative power assembled in one parliament, might be resettled *de jure*, in some thing the like manner as it was formerly

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de facto, to the facilitating his majesties gracious government of both kingdoms, dissolving of many intricate difficulties, taking away much of the root of difference and discord between the now many parties in his majesties said kingdoms, and strengthening his hands against all opposers both at home and abroad.

The grievances for want of Union.

1. The judges are not agreed whether laws made in *England* (since *Poyning's law*) do bind *Ireland*, though it be named in them; so that imbezling, raising, and abusing records, too often practised, is not felony there, as in *England*.
2. The judges also are not agreed how the acts 17 and 18 Car. I. made in the parliament of *England* may consist with the acts of settlement and explanation since made in *Ireland*.
3. The people of *England*, sent over and living in *Ireland* for his majesties service, are accounted as foreigners and aliens in many things, (*viz.*) That their goods from *Barbado's* must first come to *England*, that they pay double customs here, &c.
4. The colonies sent from *England*, are therefore the more * disposed in a generation or two to

* See stat. Eliz. for attainder of Tyrone and Milton's histories.

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turn *Irish*, of whom at this day $\frac{2}{3}$ parts are degenerated *English*, and of the remainder $\frac{1}{3}$ are of the *Welch*, and but $\frac{1}{7}$ of the old Biscainer's chased by the Goth's, and planted there by leave from *England*, and the best of these, as the O'Brians, and divers others, are become true *English*.

5. If *Ireland* continue so to drein away men (as between the years 1649, and 1653, above 50,000 soldiers) both that and *England*, and our plantations in *America*, may want men, when—as it may be so ordered as to help all the rest with supplies.
6. Those turned *Irish* are against improvement, ornament, the king's revenue, and interest there, the advancement of trade: all these are promoted by the *English planters*, who on any commotion, lose their improvements and stock (generally five times more worth than their lands) their wives and children driven into *England* in distress, moving a general pity of their calamity, in indignation against their oppressors.

Advantages by the Union.

1. The less army would serve (trained-bands might suffice) the *English pale*, there, not being compleatly four counties, for many years kept

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itself against the rest of *Ireland* without any great charge to *England*.

2. The *English* upon such evidence and ground of establishment and quiet in their possessions, a main point, (possest and dispossesst, being a great foundation of differences there) in other things would be more disposed to any reasonable conformity, which their dependance upon *England* will oblige them to.
3. The *Irish*, being put from their hopes of having any more *Irish* parliaments, will be the easiet disposed to *English* habit, language, building of chimney's, and other manner of *English* living, according to many of our statutes, still in force to that end; the want of all which things make the great consumption of the *English* there. Whilst this kind of union held *de facto* in the late times, the *Irish* generally went to the *English* protestant churches, and did actually conform as above said.
4. Neither then would the great men of all parts there, as hitherto, be so concerned to expel their *English* tenants, and take in *Irish*, though at less rent, partly because they are more absolutely at their own command, and slavish; partly to keep up the pretence and necessity of a greater army, wherein their relations, servants, and dependents have convenient entertainments.
5. There is here the greater facility from the general use of the same laws in both kingdoms.

CHAP. XI.

The union between Great Britain and Ireland first brought under the notice of parliament—Arguments for and against that measure—It is generally unpopular throughout Ireland—Animated debate of two and twenty hours in the Irish commons—Majority of one in favour of ministers—Proceedings in the British legislature—Further discussions in the Irish—Mr. Grattan accepts a seat to oppose it—The measure carried.

THE incorporate union between England and Ireland, was one of those measures which would necessarily greatly agitate the minds of men. Far removed from the character of a temporary or local question of politics, but, on the contrary, embracing in its extensive operation, the complicated interests of the whole nation, it inflamed men's minds to a degree of unprecedented fervour. The first hint of the intention of government was thrown out, in a publication entitled "Arguments for and against a union between Great Britain and Ireland, considered," written, or procured to be written, by a Mr. Edward Cooke, the under secretary of the civil department. This

demi-official pamphlet was considered as speaking the language of administration; and accordingly the whole country took the alarm. In the course of two or three months, no less than thirty other pamphlets appeared, taking different sides and written with various ability. Meetings were also held in the metropolis and different parts of the country, to protest against the measure. The gentlemen of the Irish bar convened a meeting on the 9th of December: to them the matter was of importance, for if the Irish parliament were annihilated, and a few of its members incorporated with the English legislature, it would cut them off from all hopes of political eminence as their professional avocations in Dublin, would not permit them to attend the sittings of parliament in England. The metropolis also was hostile to the measure because it justly feared that it would fall into decay when, by the removal of the legislature, there would be no longer the same influx of individuals, nor the same circulation of money; while a meeting at Galway, declared that the representatives had no power to vote away the independence of the realm. The nation, in fact, was agitated from one end to the other. The distinctions of catholic and protestant, Orangemen and Defenders, no longer prevailed. The whole population was divided into two distinct classes, UNIONISTS and ANTI-UNIONISTS. Government was sedulous to multiply its partizans by a very liberal and comprehensive system of corruption,

while the patriots were no less anxious to strengthen their cause by arguments and facts.

In the midst of this political ferment, parliament assembled on the 22d of January 1799. The viceroy's speech, after touching upon the late rebellion, the defeat of the French fleet off the coast of Ireland, by Admiral Warren, and the victories of Lord Nelson in Egypt, adverted specifically to the question of union, in the concluding paragraph. "The unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design, of endeavouring to effect a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain, must have engaged your particular attention, and his majesty commands me, to express his anxious hope, that this consideration joined to the sentiment of mutual affection, and common interest, may dispose the parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connexion essential to their common security, and of consolidating as far as possible into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire." An address was moved in the lords which, as usual, was an echo of the speech; but an amendment was proposed by Lord Powerscourt, strongly reprobating the measure of a legislative union. The address, however, was voted by a large majority, though similar motions were made by Lord Glandore and Bellamont. In the commons the address was moved, by Lord Tyrone, though he desired it to

be understood, that he did not pledge himself in any manner to support the union. An important and animated debate ensued. It lasted two and twenty hours. In this preliminary discussion almost all the topics for and against the measure were advanced. Mr. G. Ponsonby moved an amendment asserting, "the undoubted birthright of the people of Ireland to have a resident and independent legislature, such as was recognized by the British legislature in 1782 and was finally settled at the adjustment of all differences between the two countries." This amendment produced a very animated discussion. There was a vast display of talent on both sides. Mr. Fitzgerald, late prime serjeant, contended that it was not within the moral competence of parliament to destroy and extinguish itself, and with it the rights and liberties of those who created it. This doctrine was embraced by many others; and Mr. Lee, who argued also upon the additional influence which the British minister would have by transplanting 100 Irish members into the English parliament, contended that the only way in which parliament could be made competent to do what they were now required to do, was to dissolve the existing parliament, and call together a new one, issuing public notice of the object for which they were assembled; such a parliament would come commissioned with express authority for the purpose. Mr. (now Sir Jonah Barrington) declared that corrupt and unconstitutional means had been used by the noble lord

to individuals of the Irish parliament with a view to influence their votes; and he alluded distinctly to the case of two of the oldest servants of the crown, members of that house, who had been dismissed from their places, because they were resolved to vote conscientiously. Peerages, also, he had heard, were bartered for the rights of minors, and every effort used to destroy the free agency of parliament. Lord Castlereagh, (who was frequently designated in the course of this debate by the epithet of *stripling*), in reply urged the general amount of what could be urged in behalf of the measure. He begged that the discussion might be calm and dispassionate. He denied the argument of the parliament's incompetency and was surprized to hear it advanced, by constitutional lawyers; and maintained that the legislature was at all times competent to do that for which it could only have been instituted, viz. the adoption of the best means to promote the general happiness and prosperity. He denied that Ireland possessed the British constitution or could possess it, for it was contrary to the very essence of that constitution to have two separate and independent legislatures and one crown. "The greater country must lead: the less naturally follow, and must be practically subordinate in imperial concerns; but this necessary and beneficial operation of the general will, must be preceded by establishing one common interest." He con-

cluded, by professing himself attached to the measure only by the love of his country, and his conviction that the interests of that country would be promoted permanently and effectually by an incorporation of the two legislatures. Mr. Plunket, in an able and argumentative speech, spoke against the union, and for the amendment. He boldly asserted, that base and wicked, as was the object proposed, the means used to effect it had been more flagitious and abominable. He had been induced to think that they had at the head of the executive government of that country, a plain honest soldier unaccustomed to, and disdaining the intrigues of politics, and who, as an additional evidence of the directness and purity of his views, had chosen for his secretary a simple and modest youth, (*Puer ingenui cultus ingenuique pudoris*) whose inexperience was the voucher of his innocence; yet was he bold to say that during the viceroyalty of that unspotted veteran, and during the administration of that unassuming stripling, within the last six weeks a system of black corruption had been carried on within the walls of the castle, which would disgrace the annals of the worst period of the history of either country. He concluded an eloquent harangue by declaring that for his own part he would resist the measure to the last gasp of his existence, and to the last drop of his blood, and when he felt the hour of his dissolution approaching he would,

like the father of Hannibal, take his children to the altar and swear them to eternal hostility against the invaders of their country's freedom *.

A lengthened discussion still ensued. Almost every member who had ever spoken in that house now delivered his sentiments. At length, after a debate of twenty two hours, they divided when the numbers were,

Ayes 105.

Noes 106.

Leaving a majority of only one in favour of ministers.

Meanwhile the measure was being prosecuted in the English parliament, for so sanguine was the minister in his expectations of success that without waiting to know the issue in the Irish legislature, he opened his plan on the same day, viz. the 22d of January. A message was de-

* Much of the opposition to this measure evidently arose from local, personal, or party prejudice. Its policy was too much discussed under the influence of one or other of those feelings. Men of enlarged faculties who contemplated the question free from any of these partialities, have concurred in the wisdom of an incorporate union; among others Montesquieu, who said to Lord Charlemont, " Were I an Irishman I should certainly wish for an union, and as a general lover of liberty, I sincerely desire it; and for this plain reason, that an inferior country connected with one much her superior in force can never be certain of the permanent enjoyment of constitutional freedom, unless she has by her representatives a proportional share in the legislature of the superior kingdom."

livered from the sovereign to the British peers, by Lord Grenville, recommending a union in the following terms: " His majesty is persuaded that the unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in the avowed design of affecting the separation of Ireland from this kingdom, cannot fail to engage the particular attention of parliament, and his majesty recommends it to this house to consider of the most effectual means of counteracting and finally defeating this design; and he trusts that a review of all the circumstances, which have recently occurred, (joined to the sentiments of mutual affection and common interest) will dispose the parliaments of both kingdoms to provide in the manner, which they shall judge most expedient, for settling such a complete and final adjustment, as may best tend to improve and perpetuate a connexion essential to their common security, and to augment and consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire." Some little discussion ensued both in the lords and commons upon this communication; the great effort being reserved for the 31st of January, when Mr. Pitt, after a very elaborate speech in support of the business, presented to the house the following eight resolutions as embracing the general outline of the intended union.

I. " In order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources

of the British empire, it will be adviseable to concur in such measures, as may tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions as may be established by acts of the respective parliaments of his majesty's said kingdoms.

II. " It would be fit to propose as the first article, to serve as a basis of the said union, that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, on a day to be agreed upon, be united into one kingdom, by the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

III. " For the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the succession to the monarchy and the imperial crown of the said united kingdom, shall continue limited and settled, in the same manner, as the imperial crown of the said kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of the union between England and Scotland.

IV. " For the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the said united kingdom be represented in one and the same parliament, to be stiled the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and that such a number of lords spiritual and temporal, and such a number of members of the house of commons, as shall be hereafter agreed upon by the acts of the respective parliaments as aforesaid, shall sit and

vote in the said parliament on the part of Ireland, and shall be summoned, chosen and returned, in such manner, as shall be fixed by an act of the parliament of Ireland previous to the said union; and that every member hereafter to sit and vote in the said parliament of the united kingdom shall, until the said parliament shall otherwise provide, take, and subscribe the said oaths, and make the same declarations as are by law required to be taken, subscribed, and made, by the members of the parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

V. " For the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the Churches of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, shall be preserved as now by law established.

VI. " For the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that his majesty's subjects in Ireland, shall at all times be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing in respect of trade, and navigation, in all ports and places belonging to Great Britain, and in all cases with respect to which treaties shall be made by his majesty, his heirs, or successors, with any foreign power, as his majesty's subjects in Great Britain; that no duty shall be imposed on the import or export between Great Britain and Ireland, of any articles now duty free; and that on other articles there shall be established, for a time to be limited, such a moderate rate of equal duties as shall, previous to the union, be agreed upon and approved by the

respective parliaments, subject, after the expiration of such limited time, to be diminished equally with respect to both kingdoms, but in no case to be increased; that all articles, which may at any time hereafter be imported into Great Britain from foreign parts, shall be importable through either kingdom into the other, subject to the like duties and regulations, as if the same were imported directly from foreign parts: that where any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, are subject to any internal duty in one kingdom, such countervailing duties (over and above any duties on import to be fixed as aforesaid) shall be imposed, as shall be necessary to prevent any inequality in that respect; and that all matters of trade and commerce, other than the foregoing, and than such others as may before the union be specially agreed upon for the due encouragement of the agriculture and manufactures of the respective kingdoms, shall remain to be regulated from time to time by the united parliament.

VII. " For the like purpose it would be fit to propose, that the charge arising from the payment of the interests, or sinking-fund for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively; that, for a number of years to be limited, the future ordinary expences of the united kingdom, in peace or war, shall be defrayed by

Great Britain and Ireland jointly, according to such proportions as shall be established by the respective parliaments previous to the union; and that, after the expiration of the time to be so limited, the proportions shall not be liable to be varied, except according to such rates and principles, as shall be in like manner agreed upon previous to the union.

VIII. "For the like purpose, that all laws in force at the time of the union, and all the courts of civil or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations or regulations from time to time as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require."

In addition to these resolutions an address was proposed by Mr. Pitt, stating that the commons had proceeded with the utmost attention to the consideration of the important objects recommended in the royal message, that they entertained a firm persuasion of the probable benefits of a *complete and entire union*, between Great Britain and Ireland founded on equal and liberal principles; that they were, therefore, induced to lay before his majesty such propositions as appeared to them to be best calculated to form the basis of such a settlement, leaving it to his wisdom in due time and in a proper manner, to communicate them to the lords and commons of Ireland, with whom they would be at all times ready to concur

in all such measures as might be found most conducive to the accomplishment of that great and salutary work. Mr. Sheridan pertinaciously opposed the minister, and moved, though unsuccessfully, some counter-resolutions grounded upon the basis of the necessity that the measure should be cordially approved of by the parliaments and the people of both nations. The eight resolutions passed, after some interesting debates, and was sent up to the lords, where, an interval of a month was allowed before taking them into consideration.

Meanwhile, in Ireland the greatest joy prevailed, at the issue of the first debate, on the question of union, which was regarded as tantamount to a defeat of the minister. The anti-unionists were every where celebrated and rose into immediate popularity: while the unionists met with the most marked indignities from the people. On the 28th of Jan. Lord Castlereagh, moved an adjournment to the 7th of Feb. in order to engraft his further parliamentary proceedings upon those of the British legislature. He assured the house, however, that it was not his intention to press the measure against what might appear to be the decided sense of the Irish parliament and nation. So great, however, was the popular dislike to union in Dublin, that it was seriously contemplated to remove the parliament to Cork, in consequence of the personal outrages committed upon the members in their

passage to and from the house, who had voted in favour of it. Nor was this spirit confined to the metropolis, for throughout the greater part of the country the same dislike prevailed. The freeholders of Fermanagh, King's County, Limerick, Monaghan, Clare, Cavan, Tyrone and other shires, made strong resolutions against the measure, and thanked their members for opposing it. In the county of Galway, the archbishop of Tuam had interest enough to procure a warm declaration in favour of union, and in the commercial city of Cork many of the traders and other inhabitants were zealous for the ministerial scheme.

The month which had been fixed by the British house of peers having elapsed, on the 19th of March, Lord Grenville, in a very able speech *, brought the question before them. An interesting debate ensued, and the address being voted, a conference was holden with the commons on the ensuing day, when it was proposed that it should be offered to the throne as the joint address of both houses. Meanwhile it was resolved not to press the measure in the Irish parliament while the public mind was so decidedly hostile, and the legislature itself so nearly balanced, but to postpone the further consideration till the ensuing session. Parliament was accordingly prorogued on the 1st of June, 1799. It assembled again in

* See Appendix, No. VIII.

Mr. Grattan takes his seat to oppose the Union. 307.

January, 1800. Mr. Grattan, on the 18th of that month had been elected a member for the borough of Wicklow. He accepted a seat once more in the Irish parliament, willing to hope that he might be able, by the influence of his talents to save his country from what he, among others, considered as her ruin. It is to be lamented, however, that a question like that of a legislative union, should have been embarrassed by party and local prejudices, which it undeniably was.

The recess had been diligently employed by the speaker in smoothing the difficulties which opposed themselves to the measure. He was successful in conciliating many who had hitherto been neutral, if not hostile. On the 15th of Feb. the house met after an adjournment, when petitions against the union were received from the counties of Dublin, Limerick, Wexford, Caran, Longford, Tipperary, Galway, Meath and Fermanagh; also from the city of Limerick, the town of Belfast, and several others: a message from the lord lieutenant was presented by Lord Castlereagh, which he read, and then proceeded to lay upon the plan of the union, which he now seemed to consider as certain. He congratulated the house upon the happy change of sentiment, with respect to that measure which had taken place, though he did not inform them by what means it had been accomplished. He concluded an elaborate speech nearly in the following words: " Having gone

through the outline of the plan with as much conciseness as possible; I trust I have proved to every man, who hears me, that the proposal is such a one as it is at once honourable for Great Britain to offer, and Ireland to accept. It is one which will entirely remove from the executive power those anomalies which are the perpetual sources of jealousy and discontent. It is one which will relieve the apprehensions of those who feared that Ireland was, in consequence of a union, to be burthened with the debt of Britain. It is one which by establishing a fair principle of contribution tends to release Ireland from an expence of one million, in time of war, and of 500,000 in time of peace. It is one which increases the resources of our commerce, protects our manufactures, secures to us the British market, and encourages all the produce of our soil. It is one that by uniting all the ecclesiastical establishments, and consolidating the legislatures of the empire, puts an end to religious jealousy and removes the possibility of a separation. It is one that places the great question, that has so long agitated the country upon the broad principles of imperial policy, and divests it of all its local difficulties. It is one that establishes such a representation for the country as must lay asleep for ever, the question of parliamentary reform which, combined with our religious divisions, has produced all our distractions and calamities." At a very late hour the house divided, when there were 158 for,

and 115 against the union *. In the house of lords, the Earl of Clare led on the unionists, on the 10th of Feb. and at the conclusion of a long and important speech, he declared "that if he lived to see that measure completed, to his latest hour he should feel an honourable prize in reflecting on the share he might have had in contributing to effect it." He succeeded; and, yet it is said he felt so sensibly the loss of his power and influence *after* the union, that the consciousness greatly accelerated his death, a short while before which he is represented, as saying that he repented of his share in bringing about that measure. The division in the lords was 75 for, and 26 against, shewing that the British cabinet had more strength there, than in the commons.

On the 17th of March, it came on again in the commons, being introduced by Mr. Corry. In the course of his speech he interspersed much personal acrimony and abuse, directed particularly against Mr. Grattan, who vindicated himself so strongly and in such bitter terms that a duel immediately ensued, in which Mr. Corry was wounded. After a long debate, a motion was made for adjournment, which being rejected, the first day of the following January, was fixed for the commencement of the union of the kingdoms. The

How this majority was obtained has been surmised. Twenty seven new titles were added to the peerage; promotions, grants, concessions, and promises were abundantly lavished,

articles of union *, underwent much discussion, in detail, in both the Irish and British legislatures; and both proceeded to carry them into effect by a bill. The anti-unionists contested every inch of ground: but they were of course defeated. The motion for bringing in the bill was carried by 160 against 100. It was carried up to the house of peers, where it was read a third time on the 15th of June: and a protest was entered by the Duke of Leinster and the other dissenting peers.

The only thing that now remained to be brought forward was the scheme of compensation; and this was plausibly ushered in by Lord Castlereagh upon a principal of justice. He proposed a grant of 1,260,000*l.* for those who should suffer a loss of patronage, and be deprived of a source of wealth by the disfranchisement of 84 boroughs, at the rate of 15,000*l.* for each. It was contended by some of the members, however, and among others by Mr. Saurin, Mr. J. C. Beresford, and Mr. Dawson, that to grant a compensation for a species of a property, in itself illegal and unconstitutional, would be a gross insult to the country: but they who had rather a deeper interest in the arrangement, strenuously defended it; maintaining that however vicious such possessions might have been in their origin, yet, from prescriptive usage, and from having been the subjects of contracts and family settlements, they could

not be confiscated without a breach of honour and propriety. The bill met with a little opposition also in the lords, but it passed into a law without any demonstration of serious hostility, as the most active and zealous anti-unionists had abandoned the contest as a hopeless one. As soon as the union bill had passed through both houses in Ireland, a similar one was carried through the British legislature, and on the 2d of July it received the royal assent, when his majesty thus addressed the parliament: "With peculiar satisfaction, I congratulate you on the success of the steps, which you have taken, for effecting an entire union between my kingdoms. This great measure on which my wishes have been long earnestly bent, I shall ever consider as the happiest event of my reign." In Ireland the royal assent was given on the 1st of August, the anniversary of the accession of the House of Brunswick to the thrones of these realms*.

The example of the Scotch union was followed by Ireland in the formation of their first quota of the imperial parliament. No new election was resorted to; but the most zealous supporters of the measure were rewarded with seats in the imperial legislature. On the 31st of Dec. 1800, his majesty entered the house of peers. When the commons appeared at the bar of the lords,

* The Act of union may be seen in the Appendix No. X. and the Proclamation No. XI.

the speaker addressed his majesty in an impressive speech, and congratulated him upon the prosperity and happiness which were likely to attend the empire in consequence of the union. His majesty made a most gracious speech in reply; when the parliament was prorogued till the 22d of Jan. 1801. Immediately after his majesty had left the house, he held a grand council, in which several arrangements required by that grand event were settled. In honour of the union many promotions were made and several new titles created. On the next day—the 1st of Jan. 1801, the incorporate union of Great Britain and Ireland, was formally announced by proclamation; and thus the great and important measure was finally accomplished. Whether it will produce for Ireland, individually, or for the empire generally, those advantages which its advocates predicted, and for the sake of which the great experiment was risked, can hardly yet be ascertained. The time is too recent either to affirm or deny the proposition of its beneficial tendency, because many of the most substantial advantages that were to ensue can only be the produce of long trial and of that skilful employment of some measures and rejection of others, which experience alone can suggest or justify. It is certain, however, that it still remains the opinion of many dispassionate observers of Ireland, that she has already benefited, and will benefit still more, by the union, if the legislature be wise enough to adopt a decided and manly policy in

other respects. The odium which was heaped upon the measure at the time of its agitation, and the hostility it experienced were no fair *criteria* of its character: it would be impossible perhaps to carry such a scheme in any country without exciting strong local and personal prejudices; still less could it be possible in Ireland where every thing is decided upon feeling rather than judgment. Of those who opposed it most strenuously, the greater part felt rather the indignity than the impolicy of the undertaking; they talked of the honour of Ireland instead of her prosperity, and it is no unfair presumption to suppose, that if it had involved nothing apparently injurious to that national honour, which an Irishman cherishes with a fond enthusiasm, there would have been found very few who would have raised their voice against it upon the single question of its prudence or policy. One thing is certain, however, that every man who wishes well to the general prosperity of the empire, must ardently wish to see Ireland conciliated, and to find her a cordial and willing labourer in the great national vineyard. That she is not conciliated, is equally certain; and it cannot too soon occupy the serious attention of the united legislature to ascertain by what means her discontents may be allayed.

Having thus gone through the history of this country from its earliest period to that of her incorporate union with Great Britain, little else now remains to be said. Her subsequent history is

involved in the history of the empire itself: A deceitful calm, a sullen repose, ensued after the union: the unquiet spirits whose excesses tended to accelerate that measure were overawed, not subdued: and in 1803 another rebellion burst forth, short in its duration, insignificant in its events: it was soon quelled: but its appearance shewed that the embers of discontent were silently collecting energy and heat to break forth into flames and devastation. Lord Hardwicke was then the viceroy, and it has been thought he did not use the power he possessed with such discretion and vigour as would have crushed the nascent faction. Meanwhile the catholics, whose claims had been strongly urged, and strongly encouraged by the unionists, began now to look for the performance of those promises, which had been made to them: Assured by their friends that it would be wiser not to embarrass the general question of the union with their demands, which could be more consistently, and more efficaciously urged afterwards, they suffered that measure to be carried, and waited in silence to be heard. The minister, who had accomplished the union, and had promised redress to the catholics, found, if he was sincere, that he had pledged himself to a task beyond his power to perform. He retired from office, to evade an obligation he was unable or unwilling to fulfill. He returned to it again, and the catholics demanded what they had been encouraged to expect. He did not refuse, but

asked time to comply. He would have temporised: but his death which happened soon after his resumption of power, saved him from an embarrassment which the haughtiness of his character but ill disposed him to brook.

A whig ministry succeeded, and the catholics looked up with renovated hopes. Lord Hardwicke was recalled, and a whig viceroy was sent out (1806) to give additional strength to those hopes. That viceroy was John Duke of Bedford, the inconsistent noble, whose democratic folly Burke has severely immortalized. What this ministry attempted to effect, is well known. They would have granted catholic emancipation upon terms which neither the Irish catholics, nor the sovereign were willing to accept or confer. The *veto* created a new division in this heated question. The royal conscience took the alarm also; the ministry were driven from the cabinet, and at the ensuing elections hardly found their way into the senate. Their successors came into office upon the avowed principle of resisting catholic emancipation as long as it should be irreconcilable with the feelings of the throne: that was understood to be the extent of their resistance, collectively, though some individuals probably nourished sentiments of a more intolerant and determined character. The catholics, who knew what they had to contend for, and that if their ends were gained at all, they must be gained by constitutional means, wisely for-

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bore to press their claims as long as that obstacle should continue. They were patient and submissive: and waited till the course of events might place the executive in hands which they had been long taught to believe would dispense the blessings they sought, with a liberal and unsparing bounty. The era, towards which they so impatiently looked, arrived; the calamity which placed the executive power in the person of the Prince Regent, while it affected them as every loyal subject should be affected, could not but fill them with rejoicing as calculated to accomplish their most ardent wishes. New efforts were immediately made. The appeal to parliament was again heard: and the illustrious patriot who had so often raised his voice in behalf of his country, once more took his post. Prompt and immediate success was not expected: but as little was that sudden eclipse of the royal countenance expected. One remarkable feature, however, attended every renewal of the question: the catholics gained advocates and lost foes. Such must always be the effect of deliberate discussion: prejudices are dissipated by inquiry; errors are removed by investigation. Many important points were mutually conceded, and contending parties were united by the liberal spirit of conciliation. Mr. Grattan's bill of last session (1813) sustained a nominal rather than a real defeat: and we may close this portion of our work with the pleasing

prospect of seeing the great measure of catholic emancipation accomplished upon views of an enlarged and salutary policy, which, while it will bind Ireland to us by affection and interest, will promote the general and lasting welfare of the empire at large.

BOOK II.

A GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF IRELAND.

CHAP. I.

A geographical and statistical summary of Ireland—Climate and seasons—Face of the country—Soil and agriculture—Rivers—Lakes—Mountains—Forests—Bogs—Natural curiosities—Mineralogy—Antiquities—Religion—Population—Revenue—Education—Universities—Dublin Society—Cities—Rivers—Manufactures and commerce.

IN Chap. I. Book I. we have entered into a few geographical details as preliminary matter to the general history; and as it would be superfluous to recapitulate them here, we shall merely refer the reader to that portion of our work for information respecting the discovery, name, extent, and political division of Ireland, proceeding now to a brief but accurate detail of other particulars connected with this division.

CLIMATE AND SEASONS.

As Ireland lies nearly in the same parallel with England, there is not perhaps any great difference in the climate. The mean temperature of the north is about 48; of the middle 50; of the south 52 of Fahrenheit. In a paper published in the 7th vol. of the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, the Rev. Mr. Hamilton endeavours to shew, that the climate of Ireland has of late years undergone a considerable change; that a more general equability of temperature prevails throughout the year, the summers being less warm, and the winters milder and opener. The author's theory may be thus briefly stated. The winds which most usually prevail in England blow from the westward; they are mild in their temperature and moist in their nature. Being therefore highly favourable to animal as well as vegetable life, to them, among other natural causes, may be ascribed the increasing population of Ireland, and the uncommon fertility of its soil. Of late years, these winds, from whatever cause, have assumed more than common violence, which the author endeavours to prove by observations made on the trees of the country, the sands of the coast, and the sides of the ocean. To this cause he ascribes unsuccessful attempts made to plant on high and elevated situations. He gives some instances also

of places buried under sand, where the vestiges of towns and villages seem to attest that they were once the residence of men. Of late years extraordinary high tides have been more frequent than formerly; public roads have been destroyed by them, walls beat down, and other damage occasioned; all evidence of increasing tides, and the greater frequency of storms. He, however, concludes, that the annual quantity of heat received in the country in the present day is not less than it was in former days. If the prevalent winds of a country blow over an ocean situated in its parallel, that country will be relatively denominated temperate; it will be free from all extremes; the heats of summer and the colds of winter will be checked by sea breezes of a contrary property, and the land, influenced by the neighbouring element, must, more or less, partake in its equability of temperature. Such is the case in almost all the islands in the world, and such at all times has been the peculiar character of Ireland. Fifty years have elapsed since the river Foyle has been completely frozen over at Derry. It is also observed, that the Thames is less frozen of late years than formerly. The summers in Ireland are colder, and the winters warmer, than they were some years ago; hence hemp does not grow so well, and the ancient apiaries of the country, once so celebrated, are nearly extinct.—Such are the outlines of Mr. Hamilton's hypothesis.

Respecting the climate of Ireland in general

Face of the country. Soil and agriculture. 341

no satisfactory conclusions can be formed, as the subject has been but little studied.

FACE OF THE COUNTRY.

In considering the face of the country it must be remembered, that Ireland forms a striking contrast to Scotland, being mostly level, fertile, and abundant in pasturage. The chains of hills, for they can hardly aspire to the name of mountains, are few and unimportant. Donegal, Fermanagh, and Londonderry, all in the north, are the most elevated districts. There are a few eminences in the south.

SOIL AND AGRICULTURE.

Arthur Young, and a recent writer (Mr. Wakefield), have both very ably discussed these topics. Their extensive researches cannot be here followed. It will suffice for the general nature of our plan to present a few positive conclusions, deduced from the laborious and minute inquiries of those writers. The quantity of cultivated land in Ireland exceeds, in proportion, that of England. The soil is rocky, stones generally appearing on the surface, and yet without any injury to the fertility. The stones are generally calcareous, and appear at no great depth, even in the most flat and fertile parts, as Limerick, Tipperary, and Meath. The climate being more moist than that

of England, the verdure never appears parched with heat *. Tillage is little understood, even in the best corn counties, as Louth, Kildare, Carlow, and Kilkenny, turnips and clover being almost unknown: the wheat sown upon fallow, and followed by several crops of spring corn. The farmer is dreadfully oppressed by the vile system of *middle-men*, who rent farms from the landlord, and let them to the real occupiers, who, as well as the proprietors, suffer greatly by this strange practice. Notwithstanding these abuses, however, Ireland is a most fertile country, and since encouragement has been given to agriculture, has become a treasury of grain. Even the bogs, among which that of Allen extend 80 miles, and is computed to contain 300,000 acres, might generally be drained and converted into fertile meadows. Lime-stone gravel is a manure peculiar to Ireland, having, on uncultivated land, the same effect as lime, and on all soils it is beneficial.

RIVERS.

The chief rivers of Ireland are the Shannon, the Barrow, the Blackwater, the Bann, and the

* Dr. Martin Lister, who visited France in 1698, and published his Travels, speaking of the difference of climate between Paris and London, says, "From the quantity of rain with us our fields are much greener; and it was a pleasing surprise to me at my return; sailing up the river Thames, to see our green fields and pastures on every side; but we pay dearly for it in agues and coughs, and rheumatic distempers."

Boyle. The Liffey is an inconsiderable stream, and ennobled only by the capital.

LAKES.

The lakes of Ireland are numerous, and some of them extensive. The chief one of fresh water is that of Erne, which exceeds 30 British miles in length and 12 in its greatest breadth. The next is Lake Neagh, about 22 miles in length and 12 in breadth. Unlike Loch Erne, which is studded with islands, the Neagh composes one vast sheet of water. The beautiful and interesting Lake of Killarney in the S. W. must not be omitted. It abounds with romantic views, and is fringed with the arbutus, no where else a native of the British dominions. This is almost the only lake in the south of Ireland, and the observation may be extended to the east. On the N. W. are the lakes of Eask, Trierty, Melvin, Macnean, and Gill. That of Allan is the chief source of the Shannon. Further to the west are two considerable lakes, the Conn and the Mask; nor must those of Corrafin be forgotten.

MOUNTAINS.

The elevations in Ireland are not very important. An upland ridge divides the country from the N. E. to the S. W. and gives birth to several

of the rivers. The Irish hills generally form short lines, or detached groups. The following is an accurate estimate of the heights of the chief Irish mountains :—

Sliebh Donard, County Down	-	2803 feet.
Mangerton, County Kerry	-	2611 feet above the sea.
	-	823 feet above the lake of Killarney, measured geometrically by the late Col. Harbest.
McGillicuddy's rocks by estimation		2800 feet, certainly higher than Mangerton.

Crusagh Patrick, County Mayo	-	2660 feet
Nephin, County Mayo	-	2634 feet.

These were measured harmonically by Mr. Kirwan.

FORESTS.

Scarcely the semblance of a forest remains in Ireland. Boate long since observed, that the woods have been greatly diminished since the entrance of the English, partly from the extension of tillage, and partly from the necessity of opening up the recesses of banditti; yet, he informs us, that considerable woods existed in his time in Wicklow, Wexford, and Carlow, Kerry, Tipperary, and Cork. There were extensive forests also in the province of Ulster; in the counties of Donegal, Tyrone, Fermanagh, and Antrim. The eastern province of Connaught, being the most

remote from the new colony, was in his time stored with tress; but the most noted forests were in the counties of Mayo and Sligo.

BOGS.

The moors or bogs form a remarkable feature of this country. Boate divides them into four classes. 1. The grassy, in which the water being concealed by herbage, they become extremely perilous to travellers; some of these are dry in the summer. 2. The pools of water and mire. 3. What he terms hassocky bogs, or shallow lakes studded with tufts of rushes, which are chiefly found in the province of Leinster, especially in King's and Queen's Counties. 4. The peat moors. The formation of bogs seems to be owing, in many instances, to the moisture retained in those parts of forests which chance to form hollow receptacles, the fall of the leaves forming a vegetable earth, supersaturated with moisture, so that the trees themselves in time fall a prey. Ornaments of gold, and other relics of antiquity, have, from time to time, been discovered in the bogs, at great depths; and there are other indications that they are of comparatively recent formation. It is hoped that the hand of industry will in time remove many of these blemishes; and one of the greatest improvements of modern agriculture is that of reclaiming peat moors by means of calcareous manures.

Among these would, in ancient times, have been mentioned the purgatory of St. Patrick. At present the lake of Killarney attracts more attention. This picturesque expanse of water is about ten miles in length, and from one to seven in breadth; it is divided into three parts, called the upper, lower, and Mucrass lake; and is surrounded by an amphitheatre of mountains clothed with trees, whose verdure is contrasted with intervening rocks. The *arbutus*, with its scarlet fruit and snowy blossoms, here vegetates in great luxuriance. Nor are cascades, and other features of rural beauty, wanting to complete the scene. The isle of Innisfallen is not only romantic, but of venerable fame for the annals written there. The petrifying power of Lough Neagh must be mentioned, though the quality is supposed to reside rather in the circumjacent soil. The petrifications seem to be chiefly of oak and holly. Among the natural curiosities of Ireland must not be forgotten the Dargle, an enchanting glen, about twelve miles to the south of Dublin, finely wooded with oak, and near a mile in length, with high precipices, and a picturesque river.

In describing the physical appearances of Ireland, the mind naturally reverts to that most extraordinary phenomenon of nature, called the Giant's Causeway; and as the most accurate and

perfect account of it, which has yet appeared, is to be found in *Hamilton's Letters on the Northern Coast of the County of Antrim*, some extracts from it shall be here given, omitting all the previous details respecting its volcanic origin, because interesting only to the man of science, and retaining those which are descriptive of its actual appearance, and comprehensible therefore to every reader.

“ The Causeway itself is generally described as a mole or quay, projecting from the base of a steep promontory, some hundred feet into the sea, and is formed of perpendicular pillars of basaltes; which stand in contact with each other, exhibiting an appearance not much unlike a solid honeycomb. The pillars are irregular prisms, of various denominations, from four to eight sides * ; but the hexagonal columns are as numerous as all the others together.

“ On a minute inspection, each pillar is found to be separable into several joints, whose articulation is neat and compact beyond expression, the convex termination of one joint always meeting a concave socket in the next; besides which, the

* “ Monsieur Faujas de St. Fond took much pains to search for pillars of nine sides among the basaltes of Vivarais, in consequence of the account which Mr. Molleneux and Monsieur de Lisle gave, that such were to be found; but there is little doubt that both these gentlemen were mistaken, as none of that denomination are to be discovered at the Giant's Causeway, or its neighbourhood. Indeed octagon pillars are very rarely to be met with.”

angles of some frequently shoot over those of the other, so that they are completely locked together, and can rarely be separated without a fracture of some of their parts.

"The sides of each column are unequal among themselves, but the contiguous sides of adjoining columns are always of equal dimensions, so as to touch in all their parts.

"Though the angles be of various magnitudes, yet the sum of the contiguous angles of adjoining pillars always makes up four right ones. Hence there are no void spaces among the basaltes, the surface of the Causeway exhibiting to view a regular and compact pavement of polygon stones.

"The outside covering is soft, and of a brown colour, being the earthy parts of this stone nearly deprived of its metallic principle by the action of the air, and of the marine acid which it receives from the sea*.

"These are the obvious external characters of this extraordinary pile of basaltes, observed and described with wonder by every one who has seen it. But it is not here that our admiration should cease: whatever the process was, by which nature produced that beautiful and curious arrangement of pillars, so conspicuous about the Giant's Causeway, the cause, far from being limited to that spot alone, appears to have extended through a large

* "This coating contains iron which has lost its phlogiston, and is nearly reduced to a state of calx; for with a very moderate heat, it becomes a bright red ochre colour, the attendant of an iron earth."

tract of country, in every direction, insomuch that many of the common quarries, for several miles round, seem to be only abortive attempts towards the production of a Giant's Causeway.

“ From want of attention to this circumstance, a vast deal of time and labour have been idly spent in minute examinations of the Causeway itself; in tracing its course under the ocean, pursuing its columns into the ground, determining its length and breadth, and the number of its pillars, with numerous wild conjectures concerning its original: all of which cease to be of any importance, when this spot is considered only as a small corner of an immense basalt quarry, extending widely over all the neighbouring land.

“ The leading features of this whole coast are the two great promontories of Bengore and Fairhead, which stand at the distance of eight miles from each other; both formed on a great and extensive scale; both abrupt towards the sea, and abundantly exposed to observation; and each in its kind exhibiting noble arrangements of the different species of columnar basaltes.

“ The former of these lies about seven miles west of Ballycastle, and is generally described by seamen, who see it at a distance, and in profile, as an extensive headland, running out from the coast to a considerable length into the sea; but, strictly speaking, it is made up of a number of lesser capes and bays, each with its own proper name, the

tout ensemble of which forms what the seamen denominate the headland of Bengore.

“ These capes are composed of a variety of different ranges of pillars, and a great number of strata; which, from the abruptness of the coast, are extremely conspicuous, and form an unrivalled pile of natural architecture, in which all the neat regularity and elegance of art is united to the wild magnificence of nature.

“ The most perfect of these capes is called Pleaskin, of which I shall attempt a description, and along with it hope to send a drawing which my draftsman has taken from the beach below, at the risk of his neck; for the approach from these promontories down to the sea, is frightful beyond description, and requires not only a strong head, but very considerable bodily activity to accomplish it.

“ The summit of Pleaskin is covered with a thin grassy sod, under which lies the natural rock, having generally an uniform hard surface, somewhat cracked and shivered. At the depth of ten or twelve feet from the summit, this rock begins to assume a columnar tendency, and forms a range of massy pillars of basaltes, which stand perpendicular to the horizon, presenting, in the sharp face of the promontory, the appearance of a magnificent gallery, or colonade, upwards of sixty feet in height.

“ This colonade is supported on a solid base,

of coarse, black, irregular rock, near sixty feet thick, abounding in blebs and air-holes, but, though comparatively irregular, it may be evidently observed to affect a peculiar figure, tending, in many places, to run into regular forms, resembling the shooting of salts, and many other substances, during a hasty crystallization.

“ Under this great bed there stands a second range of pillars, between forty and fifty feet in height, less gross, and more sharply defined than those of the upper story, many of them, on a close view, emulating even the neatness of the columns in the Giant’s Causeway. This lower range is borne on a layer of red ochre stone, which serves as a relief to shew it to great advantage *.

“ These two admirable natural galleries, together with the interjacent mass of irregular rock, form a perpendicular height of 170 feet ; from the base of which, the promontory, covered with rock and grass, slopes down to the sea for the space of 200 feet more, making in all a mass of near 400 feet in height, which, in beauty and variety of its colouring, in elegance and novelty of arrangement, and in the extraordinary magnitude

* “ The only instances of different ranges of basaltes that have hitherto been discovered, occur in the valuable work of Mons. Faujas de St. Ford, on the volcanos of Vivarais, &c. but the arrangement which appears there, even with the neatness that always attends an engraving, is greatly inferior to that of Pleaskin.”

of its objects, cannot readily be rivalled by any thing of the kind at present known *.

" Though there are but two complete ranges of pillars which appear in any of the promontories, yet it is not improbable that there may be many more in succession, at various depths under ground; and this opinion is confirmed by columnar marks, which may be traced in several rocks that lay in the sea. The Causeway itself, which is situated at the base of one of these promontories, on the level of the beach, is one of those columnar beds that has been accidentally stripped and washed by length of time and storms.

" The pillars of this whole headland appear naturally to affect a perpendicular situation; and in the few places where they lie in an inclined posture, it seems to be the effect of some external cause, which has deranged them from their original disposition. Indeed where the forms of crystallization are imperfect, they may be seen to shoot in various directions, and sometimes in irregular curves; but in most of these instances, the columnar outline is very rude and unfinished.

* " Mr. Pennant is much mistaken in his opinion, that the little island of Staffa, whose greatest height is but 128 feet, contains any object equal to the bold promontories of Bengoré. Neither are the best specimens of pillars at Staffa at all comparable to those of the Giant's Causeway, in neatness of form, or singularity of articulation."

"It is worth remarking, that the ranges of pillars are more perfect in proportion as they lie deeper under ground; the second range in Bledaria is evidently better finished than the upper one, and contains much fewer irregularities in the grain of its stone; while the pillars of the Causeway, which run into the sea itself, have still a greater sharpness in their figure, and are more close and uniform in their texture.

"Such is the general outline of this great headland, which affords objects extremely interesting to every one who may wish to study nature in her bold and uncommon works.

"At the distance of eight miles from hence, (as I mentioned before) the promontory of Fairhead* raises its lofty summit more than 400 feet above the sea, forming the eastern termination of Ballycastle bay. It presents to view a vast compact mass of rude columnar stones, the form of which are extremely gross, many of them being near 150 feet in length, and the texture so coarse†, as to resemble black schorle stone, rather than the close fine grain of the Giant's Causeway basalt. At the base of these gigantic columns,

* "This is the Rhodogium Promontorium of Ptolemy, the geographers.

† "These pillars do not, at first view, appear to have any marks of articulation; but on observing such as have fallen down from the top of Fairhead, they are found to be often separated into pretty regular joints by the force of the fall."

lies a wild waste of natural ruins, of an enormous size, which, in the course of successive ages, have been tumbled down from their foundation by storms, or some powerful operations of nature. These massive bodies have sometimes withstood the shock of their fall, and often lie in groups and clumps of pillars, resembling many of the varieties of artificial ruins, and forming a very novel and striking landscape.

“ A savage wildness characterizes this great promontory, at the foot of which the ocean rages with uncommon fury. Scarce a single mark of vegetation has yet crept over the hard rock to diversify its colouring, but one uniform greyness clothes the scene all around. Upon the whole, it makes a fine contrast with the beautiful capes of Bengore, where the varied brown shades of the pillars, enlivened by the red and green tints of ochre and grass, cast a degree of life and cheerfulness over the different objects.

“ Though I have particularly described the basalt pillars of these two magnificent promontories, yet there are many other similar arrangements through this country, which, though less worthy of admiration as great objects, yet become extremely interesting when one wishes to search minutely into the natural causes which might have produced these extraordinary pillars.

“ The mountain of Dunmull, lying between Colerain and the river Bush, abounds in this species of stone, particularly at the craigs of Isla-

more, where two different ranges of columns may be discovered; and at most of the quarries which have occasionally been opened round the mountain. They may be seen also at Dunluce-hill, near the castle of Dunluce; in the bed of the river Bush, near the bridge of Bushmills; on the summit of the mountain of Croaghmore; in many parts of the high land over Balintoy; in the island of Raghery, and various other places, through an extent of coast about fifteen miles in length, and two in breadth *."

MINERALOGY.

It is well known that considerable masses of native gold was discovered, a few years ago, in the county of Wicklow. These were found in a brook, running west to east, to the river of Avonmore, where it is joined by the river Aghrim. It is said, that a jeweller, who lately died in Dublin, often declared that gold from that spot had passed through his hands to the value of 30,000*l*.

* " Beyond this tract, which abounds in perfect pillars, an attentive observer will be able to trace the same species of fossils in very distant parts of the country, as far as the northern shore of Loughneah, and the mountains of the county of Derry; in many places of which, imperfect columnar forms may be observed, so that the great cause which generated this species of stone, has been exerted through a space of more than forty miles in length, and twenty in breadth; that it, through above 800 square miles."

the secret being retained for many years, and some pieces weighing to the amount of seventy or eighty guineas. Gold is also reported to have been antiently found in the province of Ulster, in the sand of a rivulet, called Miele, which falls into the north-west corner of the lake Neagh. Silver, according to Beate, was found in a mine mingled with lead in the county of Antrim. The mine was wrought, and yielded a pound of pure silver from thirty pounds of lead. Others, of less note, have, from time to time, been discovered. Copper ore, iron, lead, &c. are also found, as well as coal, which last has not been explored properly hitherto. That of Milkenny, found at Castle-comer, is deservedly celebrated among mineralogists as the purest which has yet been traced in any quarter of the globe. Marble and slate are also found.

ANTIQUITIES.

Upon a review of the more ancient of these historical epochs, and of the monuments which may be considered as belonging to each, it must be considered, that the edifices having been constructed of wood till the eleventh or twelfth century, it cannot be expected that any remains of them should exist. Stone was chiefly employed in the construction of funeral erections of various kinds, nor are barrows wanting in Ireland, being

hills of earth thrown up in commemoration of the illustrious dead. Druidic monuments may also be found in Ireland. When Christianity was first introduced into this island, various churches and monasteries were erected, but they were all small, and constructed of interwoven withes, or hewn wood; for St. Bernard, in the twelfth century, mentions a stone church as a singular novelty in Ireland.

"But the Scandinavian chiefs," observes Pinkerton, "must before this period have introduced the use of stone into the castles, necessary for their own defence against a nation whom they oppressed; and sometimes even subterraneous retreats were deemed expedient, of which Ware and others have engraved specimens. To the Scandinavian period also belong what are called the Danes Raths, or circular entrenchments, and some chapels, such as those of Glendaloch, Portaferry, Killalac, Saul Abbey, St. Doulach, and Cashel, if we may judge from the singularity of the ornaments, which, however, only afford vague conjecture. But of the round castles, called Duns in Scotland, and of the obelisks engraven with figures or ornaments, few or none exist in Ireland. Under the Scandinavians, the Irish coinage first dawns."

Many monuments of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, castellated or religious, may probably exist in Ireland. The castles, churches, and monasteries, erected since the period of the English

settlement, might be counted by hundreds; and for them one general reference may be made to Ledwich and Grose. Among smaller relics of antiquity, the golden trinkets found in a bog near Cullen, in the south, deserve mention.

RELIGION.

It is well known that the religion of *the people of Ireland* is Catholic, that is, of the great majority of the nation *. The legal, or state religion, however, is the same as in England; the same articles of belief being established, and the same orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, composing the body of the clergy, all of whom acknowledge the king as supreme head of the church. There are also similar ecclesiastical courts; but a convocation is never held even for the sake of form.

Dr. Beaufort, in his valuable Memoir, observes, that "the first preachers of Christianity in Ireland established a great number of bishoprics, which gradually coalesced into the thirty-two dioceses, that have for several centuries constituted the ecclesiastical division of the kingdom. But when the country became impoverished and depopulated by the perpetual feuds and frequent civil wars,

* They amount to four-fifths of the whole population, which is estimated at about 5,000,000.

with which it was desolated for ages, it was found necessary, at different periods, to unite some of the poorest of these sees, in order that the bishops might have a competence to support the dignity and hospitality incumbent on their station; and hence it comes that there are only 22 prelates in the Church of Ireland, 20 sees being united under ten bishops. These causes having had the same operation with respect to parishes, the 2438 parishes do not form quite 1200 benefices, many having been consolidated by the privy council, from time to time, under the authority of an act of parliament; and many others, though but episcopally united, having been considered as only one living time out of mind."

The following accurate and important account of the present state of the Church Establishment in Ireland is derived from Mr. Wakefield's voluminous, prolix, but valuable storehouse of materials.

"According to the present church constitution in Ireland, there are four archbishoprics and 27 bishoprics. The four archbishoprics are those of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam.

"The Archbishop of Armagh is styled Lord Primate of all Ireland; that of Dublin Lord Primate of Ireland.

"The following bishops are suffragans to the several archbishoprics:

TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

Clogher, founded anno	-	-	-	1152
Dromore, originally founded by St. Colmar in the 6th century, and refounded by James I.				
Down and Connor united	-	-	-	1454
Derry	-	-	-	1458
Kilmore, formerly Bresny	-	-	-	1301
Meath	-	-	-	1200
Raphoe and Ardagh, now united to Tuam	-	-	-	1152

TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

Ferns and Leighlin, united in	1600	{ Ferns founded in 598	
		{ Leighlin	632
Kildare,	-	-	500
Ossory,	-	-	500
Glendalough, united with Dublin	1214,		

TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.

Cloyne	-	600,	{ was united to Cork	
			{ 100 years ago.	
Cork and Ross united	-	1586,	Cork founded	700
			Killaloe	500
Killaloe and Kilsenora united	1752,	Kilsenora	-	1200
Limeric, Ardfert, and				
Aghadoe united	1663	{ Limerick	-	1301
		{ Ardfert	-	500
Waterford and Lismore united	1536	{ Waterford	-	1100
		{ Lismore	-	700

TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.

Clonfert and Kilmacduagh united in	1602	{ Clonfert	-	600
		{ Kilmacduagh	-	700
Elphin	-	-	-	450
Killala and Achonry united	660	{ Killala	-	450
		{ Achonry	-	550

“ To the archbishopric of Cashel, which was made in 1152, was added, or, as it is termed, united the bishopric of Emly in 1568.

“ To Tuam was united Ardagh in 1741.

“ The Bishop of Meath takes precedency of all the bishops in Ireland, Meath anciently having been an archbishopric. The next in rank is Kildare. The other bishops take rank according to the date of their consecration.

“ There are 33 deaneries in Ireland, and 34 archdeaconries.

“ In 1792, according to Dr. Beaufort, there were 1120 benefices, extending, upon an average, over 11,919 acres Irish, but since that time many of the unions have been severed.

“ In England there are 26 archbishops and bishops, and in Ireland 22; so that in point of number both countries are nearly on an equality. It is difficult to form an accurate estimate of the amount of their incomes; I shall, however, subjoin a statement, which is the result of information obtained from various intelligent persons resident in their respective dioceses. It is as correct, in all probability, as any estimate of property can be, which is so variable in its nature; and for the sake of comparison, I have annexed to it that of Mr. Arthur Young, published in 1779.

	Per Ann.	By Mr. Young	Per Ann.
Armagh, or the Primacy	£12,000		£8,000
Dublin.....	12,000		5,000
Tuam	7,700		4,000
Cashel	7,000		4,000
Clogher	7,000		4,000
Dromore	4,500		2,000
Down and Connor	5,000		2,800
Derry	12,500		7,000
Kilmore	5,000		2,600
Meath	6,000		3,400
Raphoe	8,000		2,600
Ferns and Leighlin	6,000		2,200
Kildare, held in comen- dam with the deanery of Christ Church.....	6,000		2,600
Ossory.....	4,000		2,000
Clonae.....	5,000		2,500
Cork and Ross.....	4,500		2,700
Killala and Killenora.....	5,000		2,300
Limerick, Ardferit, and Aghados.....	6,000		3,500
Wexford and Lismore	6,000		2,500
Clonfert and Kilmacduagh..	3,500		2,400
Elphin.....	10,000		3,700
Killala and Achonry	3,500		2,900
	£125,000		£74,700

“ The incomes of church-livings in Ireland are generally much larger than in England, and of late years they have been greatly augmented from the increase of tillage. The deanery of Down in the year 1790 was worth only 2000*l.* per annum; this year it was let for 3700*l.* The rectory

of Middleton, in the county of Cork, when held by Mr. Berkley in 1785, yielded scarcely 800*l.* per annum; at present it produces upwards of 2800*l.* A living of 500*l.* is but a middling one in Ireland, and any thing beneath it is considered as very low.

“ These incomes of the bishoprics arise partly from tithe, as at Killaloe, but generally from grants of land, over which there is a restraining clause to prevent the incumbent, if I may apply that term to a bishop, from letting them for longer than 21 years. As the bishops hitherto have generally been old men, the chance of their surviving that period is not great; they therefore renew the lease every third or seventh year upon receiving a fine, and the tenant pays the old rent. This is done under a special act of parliament, otherwise such renewals would be contrary to the decisions of the English court of chancery. In lay possessions a life-holder cannot annihilate a lease by which his estate is let, and grant a new one upon receiving a fine for the longest term which his settlements would allow, because this would keep his successor out of his income when he came to his estate. Such, however, is the law in Ireland; but if a lease be suffered to expire the land must be let at two-thirds of the full improved value, or the lease becomes void. But lately, since some young men have been appointed bishops, they have, as it is termed, “run their lives against their leases;” that is, they have made no renewal, en-

sureing a large sum at the public offices, to be received by their families in the event of their death. It would therefore be desirable to know the real value of the estates belonging to the bishoprics, were they now out of lease.

“ I must observe, that this is not a common case. It is, however, certain, that the late Bishop of Derry realized above 4000*l.* a year by leases under the see. It appears that his mode was to purchase the interest of the tenants with whom many years of lease had expired; to some of these he had refused a renewal, and others, perhaps, were unable to raise the money to pay the fine, and thus sold the remaining term at a cheap rate. This, however, makes no more difference to his successor than if these leases had been purchased by any other person. A friend of mine remarks, that Lord Bristol was so eccentric a character that no conclusions of importance can be drawn from his conduct. This may readily be granted, but the policy ought to be considered by which the law allows an eccentric or any other man to acquire an enormous fortune without performing his ecclesiastical duty; and whether while such facilities are left in the power of any individual, many may not be tempted to neglect their sacred functions while they are seeking often for temporal riches and splendour; and whether the same person who has it in his power to determine the fine or refuse the renewal should be permitted to purchase.

“ It would therefore be desirable to ascertain the real value of the estates belonging to the bishoprics, if they were now out of lease. A few that I have heard estimated, from the conjecture of well-informed persons, are as follows:

The Primacy.....	£140,000 per annum.
Derry.....	120,000
Kilmore.....	100,000
Waterford	70,000
Clogher.....	100,000

“ Bishops who outlive their leases might let the estates in trust, for the benefit of the devisors to their wills. By this proceeding would Church property increase? As the bishops are obliged to let at two-thirds of the real value, it would remove the property of the present tenant into other hands, and probably convert it into lay property, from the immediate connexions of the bishops: or, in the event of receiving the greater part of the benefits himself, he might leave his property among the branches of his family who are not in the Church. I am inclined to believe that the letting to himself, through trustees, to act under his will, at the old rent, which would only be a nominal one, would never be permitted: and that in dioceses where bishops do not renew leases, it would end in creating great and enormous incomes.

“ In the event of insanity or imbecility from age, the leases can be renewed by the metropoli-

tan for his suffragan; but the law, I am of opinion, has not provided for the case of a metropolitan so situated, although I understand that in the case of the Archbishop of Dublin the chancellor appointed, in March 1811, a committee to manage his temporalities, as in other instances of lunacy, and made the Bishop of Killala, who had been long acquainted with the diocese as Dean of St. Patrick's, guardian to the spiritualities, reserving the patronage to himself.

“ The patronage of the Irish bishoprics is very extensive, as will appear from the following table, which, declining the task of forming a new one, for the reason already assigned, I have extracted from Dr. Beaufort's Memoir.

Bishoprics.	Number of Parishes.	The Number in the gift of the Bishop.	in the gift of the Crown	Others.		Inappropriate and without Churches or Incumbents.
				Lay.	University.	
Armagh	103	60	13	22	5	
Dublin	209	144	15	16		
Tuam and Ardagh	89	72		10		
Cashel	No state- ment made of the pa- tronage.					
Clogher	41	34	1	2	4	
Dromore	26	23		2		
Down and Conaor	114	53	12	36		10
Derry	48	33	3	9	3	
Kilmore	39	33	3	2	1	
Meath	224	69 and the deanery	81	37		35
Raphoe	33	15	6	3	7	
Ferres and Leighlin	232	171	18	19	1	13
Kildare	81	30	27	24		
Ossory	136	76	26	30		
	137	106	10	9		11
Cloyne		and one held with the bishopric in commen- dation				
Cork and Ross	137	94	8			
Killaloe and Kilfenora	138	131	10	36		17
Limerick, Ardfer, and Aghadoe	176	34	27	65		
Waterford & Lismore	106	43	24	30		9
Clonfert & Kilmacdu- agh	60	43	3	14		
Elphin	75	72	2	1		
Killah and Achomry	52	48	4	0		
	2244	1391	293	467	21	93

" The livings in the gift of the Archbishop of Cashel are worth 35,000*l*. The bishopric of Clonfert is not considered as valuable.

" Cloyne, £50,000, 1 living....£3,000
 12,000
 11,800
 3 of1,500
 11,400
 21,200

and so downwards.

" Cork, £30,000, 2 of £1,000, and many from £700 to £800.

" Ferns, £30,000.

" Killakoe has 109 benefices, many worth £1,500 per ann.

" Ossory is rather a small bishopric.

" To most of the bishoprics are attached very good houses and domains; where there are none, the bishop is authorized to build a palace, not expending more than two years income of his benefice, the greater part of which, on his translation or death, can be levied on his successor. I have known gentlemen reduced to great inconvenience by being obliged to pay this money on their appointment to a bishopric.

" The large incomes of the bishops and clergy from territorial possessions, and the numerous presentations in the gift of the former, enormously increase the influence of this religious body on society. At the first view it might appear, that nearly the whole of this influence is in the hands of the crown; but this is not quite the case. The

crown nominates the bishops, it is true; and the bishops present to 1470 parishes out of 2246, but the minister who makes his friend or tutor a bishop to day, may be removed from office to-morrow, so that the influence is dissolved, and the individual is left a free agent. But notwithstanding government sometimes experiences disappointments through this cause, the church establishment of Ireland is a political lever, with the power of which persons in England are little acquainted. It must be remembered that the incomes of the Irish clergy are much larger, and society on a more contracted scale than with us: the number of dignitaries being nearly equal to that of England; in Ireland, therefore, a proportionably greater space in the higher ranks of life is filled by churchmen.

“ In addition to the 249 parishes to which the crown presents, it has the power of presenting to every living rendered vacant by the promotion of the incumbent; as in the case of making a dean a bishop, raising a dean to the archdeaconry, or promoting a clergyman. On such occasions, the crown presents to the vacated livings; and patronage is extended through many gradations. To this advantage is still to be added, the translation from an inferior to a more valuable bishopric, and frequently through two or three degrees. Clonfert and Killala, on this account, are termed ‘rearing bishoprics.’

“ The immediate parliamentary influence of the Church arises from four bishops, or one arch-

bishop and three bishops, who sit in the House of Peers by rotation, and from one member in the House of Commons, returned for the city of Armagh, on the recommendation of the primate.

“ The indirect influence must be very extensive. First, through the incumbents of the several benefices in the gift of the bishops ; secondly, from the tenants under the see, who are looking up to the bishop for a renewal of their leases ; thirdly, from the expenditure of a large income, by which considerable individual influence is always acquired ; but an influence to which there can be little objection, as it arises from the fairest and most honourable source.

“ The English reader will, no doubt, be astonished to hear, that there are absentees among the Irish bishops, some of whom think it sufficient to visit Ireland, and reside there for a month or six weeks in the summer ; while others, preferring the enjoyment of society to a dull residence at the diocesan palace, fly from the uncultivated wilds, and cheerless bogs, by which they are surrounded, to mix in fashionable life, and participate for years in the pleasures of Bath or London, without ever seeing Ireland. However I may be an advocate for liberty, I am, nevertheless, of opinion, that noblemen and gentlemen of landed property, should spend some part of their time and income among those who cultivate the earth for their support. This duty is certainly more incumbent on prelates and dignified clergymen, than even on

those to whom I have just alluded; who, besides other ties, are bound, by their official situation, to the performance of many duties which ought never to be neglected. The original title of bishop denoted a person appointed to overlook or inspect the conduct of others. A bishop, therefore, is an overseer of the inferior clergy; and if he be not resident in his diocese, at least some part of the year, he must fail in his duties, and cannot fulfil the object of his appointment.

“ Mr. Ensor, a neighbour of the primate of all Ireland, says, in his work on ecclesiastical establishments: ‘The primate of all Ireland; though in the summer of 1807, he enforced the duty of residence to his clergy, almost immediately after his charge quitted the island, nor did he return till the following summer.’ But, I would ask, how many years the primate’s family remained in England, while his grace only made summer visits to the metropolitan palace? Does not such a partial residence constitute an absentee bishop? Mr. Ensor, in a note, says, ‘this prelate was not this year a member of the Imperial Parliament.’ I have stated the fact on the printed authority of a gentleman who, in that or the preceding year, was high sheriff for the county of Armagh, and is there looked upon as a man of distinguished veracity and virtue.

“ A friend writing to me, says, ‘I suppose you have been informed on this subject; if I am mistaken, I own that you cannot be too strong, or too

severe in your reflections upon such men, but the late Earl of Bristol is the only instance I can recollect, and he was a very extraordinary character; for the great primate Rokeby cannot be included in this censure, for residing the last years of his life at Bath, whence he could not be removed on account of his complaint. It is very natural that Englishmen on the Irish bench, should pay frequent visits to their friends on the other side of the water; but, I believe, it does not often happen, that they remain a whole year in England, except their parliamentary duty requires it, nor do I know of one who makes England his principal residence.' It is necessary that I should reply to these observations, because they come from a gentleman whose sources of information are, I acknowledge, superior to mine. Yet I cannot help remarking that defect in the law, which permitted the eccentric bishop of Derry to reside abroad for twenty years. To the absence of the late primate Robinson, humanity prevents me from objecting; and I should be the last person to censure that venerable ecclesiastic. My authority is before the reader, for considering the present primate partly as an absentee. The archbishop of Dublin is unfortunately incapacitated by infirmity from attending to his duty; but I am misinformed if he was not generally absent, and his family was always so for some years while he was bishop of Ferns. When I was in the county of Cork, in the autumn of 1808, the bishop of

Cloyne was not at the palace, nor had he lived there for some time according to general report; he was at Bath. I mention these instances, to prevent that censure which ought to fall on individuals, from being thrown upon the whole body. When my friend talks of Englishmen having a natural desire to leave Ireland, let me call to his recollection the conduct of Dr. Law, bishop of Elphin, and of the late Dr. Percy, bishop of Dromore, who were constant residents in the country. Of the non-residence of parish ministers, I must remark, that there are upwards of 400 benefices which either have no glebe lands, or whose glebes are too small, or too remote from the church, to admit of parsonage houses being built upon them, and in some parts of Ireland there are no houses to be let. Although it is not my intention to apologize for non-residence, it is but justice to the Irish clergy to observe, that on counting the number of residents and absentees in each diocese respectively, as reported to parliament by several bishops, it appears on a comparison with the clergy in England, that there is a greater proportion of residents in Ireland; the clergy in the dioceses of Ferns, Meath, Armagh, and Dromore, I know to be resident; in the last mentioned diocese, there is but one clergyman who does not reside, and this gentleman lives on a benefice in another diocese. When I make this remark on the above benefices I by no means wish to confine it exclusively to them, the case is, I hope, the same in many others;

nor ought we to forget the situation of some parts of Ireland, where there are parishes without a protestant inhabitant; without a church, and without a glebe. Under such circumstances, it would be hard to require the residence of an incumbent. The proper question is, whether there ought to be an incumbent at all? Where there is no duty to be performed by the clergyman, there can be no spiritual benefit extended to the people, nor any hope of the conversion of a single individual. At present, the residence of the clergyman depends upon the direction of the bishop; I am ignorant what authority the law in this respect gives to bishops, but I confess, I am averse to leaving a matter of such importance entirely to the discretion of the superior clergy.

"Some of the present bench of Irish bishops are connected with the most powerful families in the country.

"The primate is brother to the Marquis of Bute.

"The Archbishop of Cashel, brother to Lord Middleton.

"The Archbishop of Tuam, uncle to the Marquis of Waterford.

"The Bishop of Raphoe, brother to the Marquis of Waterford.

"The Bishop of Elphin, brother to Earl Clan-carty.

"The Bishop of Killaloe, brother to the Marquis of Ely.

" The Bishop of Ferns, brother to the Earl of Roden.

" The Bishop of Down, first cousin to the Earl of Caledon.

" The Bishop of Derry, son to Lord Viscount Northland.

" The Bishop of Cork, only brother to the Earl of Hoath.

" The Bishop of Kilmore, first cousin to the Marquis of Waterford.

" I have often heard it asserted that 'large benefices ought to exist, and to be bestowed on men of learning and merit, as an encouragement to others to exert themselves for the benefit of the church.' But is merit and long service always attended to in the choice? Were I called upon to state the ages of some of the Irish bishops, it would appear that some of these valuable dignities have sometimes been conferred upon very young men. It may, however, be said, that they were educated for the profession, and fitted for discharging its duties by a regular and learned education. But this does not seem to have always been the case; one archbishop was, I believe, before his appointment a lieutenant in the navy: the dean of Clogher was a member of the Imperial Parliament; and the rector of a valuable benefice was lately an aid-de-camp at the castle. Many similar instances might be adduced, but I hope my readers will consider these sufficient.

" Some of the bishopricks in Ireland have arisen

out of the junction of some that were before distinct and separate sees; these commonly consist of two, or more, under the title of an union. The power which united them, might, as they increase in value, split them again into a greater number. The act of union, however, has not made any provision for their representation, that point being settled for the bishops to remain apparently the same in number as when the act passed.

"For the manner in which the income of the clergy in Dublin is paid, I must refer to a letter from Mr. Whitelaw, printed in the Chapter on Habits and Manners.

"The churches of Ireland have seldom more than one bell: the merry peal of which our English villages are so fond, is never sounded, and this may account for the little taste there is for bell ringing in that country. There are bells, I believe, in some of the great towns; such as Clogher, Armagh, and Drogheda; but the art of ringing them is unknown; and although the Irish are rather musically inclined, the triple bob majors, or grand performances in ringing, is never heard in any part of the country.

"A clergyman, as in England, cannot hold more than two livings, but the distance between them is not limited as with us.

"The laws that regulate glebe houses is the same in the case of an incumbent of a parish as of a bishop; the encouragement given to the former by the acts of George I. and II. not being found

effectual. Primate Robertson procured a new act, by which the original builder is entitled to receive from his immediate successor, the full amount of his expenditure, not, however, exceeding two years of his income, provided he has complied with certain injunctions prescribed by the act. The next incumbent pays three-fourths of the whole, and the two next in succession, one half and one quarter respectively, after which, all charges cease; but the liberal donations of parliament to those who build houses and churches, have accomplished more within the last five years, than had been effected in the preceding fifty. The funds are under the management of the Board of First Fruits, but the money is raised chiefly by parliamentary grants; the amount of the first-fruits raised on the Irish clergy, is only 3000*l.* per annum. The expenditure on this head has been as follows:

	Grants.	Paid.	Unpaid.
Gifts for building churches between 1st May, 1801, and 5th Jan. 1811	76,070	43,300	37,770
Loans for Ditto	59,122	35,988	23,134
Gifts for purchasing glebes	20,400	9,703	11,300
Gifts for building glebe houses	60,342	18,217	43,325
Loans for building glebe houses	112,180	48,406	63,676
Total	238,014	155,614	176,202

"This is a large expenditure, but the purpose is excellent; yet further information may be necessary on this subject: could the amount of the

sums levied by the parishes be given, and which is to be collected from those successors to such incumbents as have expended money on glebe houses; it would greatly augment the amount granted by parliament. The public has been liberal, as it always is in such cases; but it has a right to investigate whether the expenditure has effected any good purpose. The object of enquiry is, have the members of the established church increased? The answer ought to be given from authority; for unless it can be proved, that these large sums have produced some salutary result, we may justly conclude, that if more money were granted, it would be useless for this end, and therefore, the system requires to be changed."

So much has been said of every part of the system connected with the Catholics of Ireland, in the course of this history, that it would be mere repetition to state any further particulars: their oppression, their injuries, their rights, and just claims, every reader is already acquainted with who has perused these pages. But, in speaking of the religion of Ireland, we must not forget to mention that there are many sects among the chief of whom are the presbyterians. They partake, however, in some degree, of the nature and privileges of an establishment. They are chiefly descended from the Scottish presbyterians, and English puritans, whom James I. encouraged to settle in Ulster. Their ministers are now divided into three classes, of which the first re-

ceive from government 100l. the second 75l. and the third 50l. a-year each, in addition to the salaries given by their respective congregations.—No minister can, however, receive the above sum, unless regularly admitted into a presbytery, and approved by the lord lieutenant. The presbyterian form of church government is in some degree retained, and the ministers of nearly all the presbyteries meet together annually, in the synod of Ulster, in which all the general concerns of the body are discussed. The number of presbyterians is estimated at half a million by those who are best acquainted with the part of the kingdom where they chiefly reside. There are a few quakers in Ireland; but the most numerous class of dissenters, after the presbyterians, are the methodists, who are increasing rapidly in Ireland.

POPULATION. 1801 1851 1861

No very exact estimate can be formed of the number of inhabitants in Ireland, for no accurate returns have ever been made, though it may be hoped that the recent intervention of Parliament will cause authentic data to be produced. According to the most credible statements, however, it has been calculated, that in 1791, the population amounted to 4,200,000. Since that period, a considerable increase has no doubt taken place, and if we compute the present numbers at

5,000,000, it will not be too high a calculation. When it is considered, that in 1695, the population was little more than a million, this increase will appear prodigious, but may be satisfactorily explained from physical and political causes. Among the former may be reckoned a mild climate, abundance and convenience of fuel, and a cheap and nutritious sustenance in potatoes. Among the latter, the abolition of all those penal laws which chiefly affected the bulk of the people, whence emigration is much less than formerly*.

REVENUE.

From the returns annually made to parliament, it appears, that the revenue of Ireland in 1811, amounted to 9,559,708l. of which sum, 3,906,151l. were raised in the shape of taxes, and 5,653,557l. by loan. Her expenditure in the same year was 10,853,400l. being more than double what it was in the first year of the Union. In 1784, the national expenditure, according to Lord Sheffield, was 1,098,184l. and the whole debt, funded and unfunded, 2,179,208l. In 1811, (5th January) the unredeemed debt of Ireland amounted to 77,382,908l. By the terms of the Union, Ireland pays $\frac{1}{7}$ of the general expences of the empire.

* See Appendix, No. XII, for a division of Ireland, by the ingenious Dr. Beaufort, which may assist the reader's calculations &c. respect to the population.

EDUCATION.

The state of education in Ireland is truly lamentable, and her legislators could not confer a more signal blessing upon the country, than by providing an ample remedy for the present defective system. The most sanguine hopes, however, may be formed from the establishment of Lancasterian schools, if some of the prejudices of the catholic poor could be overcome. It is not the deficiency of means which causes this neglect, but the unskilful application of those means. "The people of Ireland," observes Mr. Wakefield, "are, I may almost say, *universally educated*. Many of my readers will no doubt smile at this expression, but I must beg leave to re-assert, that I do not know any part of Ireland so wild, that its inhabitants are not anxious, nay, eagerly anxious, for the education of their children; yet, 'crowded jails, ferocious turbulence, habitual slothfulness, gloomy bigotry,' are traits in the Irish character, constantly exhibited to the public view." But the desire manifested to obtain it, and to that desire numerous writers bear testimony, is all; the manner in which it is conveyed deserves the utmost censure. The common schoolmaster is generally a man who was originally intended for the priesthood, but whose morals had been too bad, or his habitual idleness so deeply rooted, as to prevent his improving himself sufficiently for that

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office. To persons of this kind is the education of the poor entirely entrusted; and the consequence is, that their pupils imbibe from them enmity to England, hatred to the government, and superstitious veneration for old and absurd customs. This, however, does not present the whole picture of education in Ireland. There are chartered schools, and free schools of royal foundation, or founded by individuals; and thousands are annually expended for the maintenance of these public institutions; but they are so perverted from their legitimate objects, so neglected, and so abused, that no really good effects, as to the nation, are produced. The following are the schools of royal foundation in Ireland, which were founded by Charles I. and endowed with larger estates by his son Charles II.

					Number of Boys educated...	
					Boarded.	Day Scholars.
Armagh has	1530	English acres, producing	£. s. d.	1043 4 0	87	29
Dunannon	1600	ditto ditto		1481 4 9	27	19
Eniskillen	3360	ditto ditto		1461 0 0	65	16
Raphoe	5946	ditto worth		750 0 0	8	27
Cavan	570	ditto ditto		900 0 0	None.	
Benagher & Caryfort	336	ditto let for		165 0 0	—	30
					12,027	

This tabular view of the value of each foundation, and the amount of good produced, will sufficiently prove the defects of these public schools. In some places, the school-house has been suf-

ferred to go to decay, as at Raphoe; while at others, as at Cavan, there is no school-house at all. At Banagher, the Hon. and Rev. Richard Ponsonby is schoolmaster, and at Carrystown the Rev. Sir Thomas Foster, Bart. both appointments being rendered mere sinecures. In no case are the funds of these endowments made applicable to the real extent of their power in providing education for those who may require it. There are schools of private foundation at Navan and Ballyrowan. The lands belonging to the former were let in 1806 for 1465l. 15s. 7 but the appointments to both these masterships are considered as gifts which require no duty. The charter schools were founded in 1733 by George II. for the purpose of instructing "the children of the papish and other poor natives in the English tongue." These schools, however, are regarded with great aversion by the catholics, and when they pass by them, they generally give vent to their curses. "Have not the protestants," they cry, "robbed the necessitous poor of their children, to bring them up in their own religion." The view in which these people consider the system is worthy of notice. The Roman catholic never believes education to be the object; religion alone presents itself to his mind, and engrosses his whole attention. On the whole, there is no want of means to educate the children, but the application of those means is most defective.

UNIVERSITIES.

With four archbishopricks, Ireland possesses only one protestant university, that of Dublin. This institution was first projected by Archbishop Leech, about the year 1311; but death having interrupted his design, it was revived and executed by Bicknor, his successor, and enjoyed moderate prosperity for about forty years, when the revenue failed. In the reign of Elizabeth, the university was refounded by voluntary contribution under the auspices of Sydney, the lord deputy. In 1591, it was removed from the precincts of St. Patrick's church to the site of an Augustine monastery, and received a charter from Elizabeth under the style of Trinity college. The first James and Charles were liberal benefactors. It consists of a chancellor, vice-chancellor, provost, vice-provost, twenty-two fellows, and thirteen professors of various sciences. The number of students is commonly about six hundred, including twenty scholars on the foundation, and thirty servitors or sizors. The prevailing principle is to make advancement the reward of exertion. Admission is granted only to those who, on examination, appear to have improved themselves at school. Scholarships are given to the best classical scholars who have arrived at their third year, and entitle the possessors to a small annual income, and to a place in the corporate body. The

more lucrative and honourable situation of a fellow is only obtained by many years of hard labour, and by being superior to other candidates on a long and very difficult examination. Quarterly examinations are also held for the under graduates, and premiums given to the most distinguished answerers, the good effects of which are visible in the exertions of the students. The building consists of four quadrangles, and it contains a library of great extent and value, which has been enriched by the celebrated Fagel collection from Holland. There are also a hall for examinations, a chapel, a printing-office, and convenient theatres for the different lectures. The member who represents this university in Parliament, is not required to exhibit any landed qualification, and is chosen by the fellows and students; the latter form by far the majority. Being young men of liberal education, inspired with that honest boldness, and warmed with that patriotic zeal, which are peculiar to youth, they are independent in their choice, and return the man whom they consider most worthy of their confidence. Adjacent to the university is a park; and an observatory has been erected on the calcareous rock of Dulsark, about four miles to the north-west.

Intimately connected with this question of national education, is that of instructing the catholics of Ireland. Justly sensible of the great evils attendant upon the practice of the catholic youth seeking their education in foreign countries, to

return with foreign habits, feelings, and principles, into their native land, the parliament of Ireland, in 1795, established the Royal College of St. Patrick at Maynooth, a small town about twelve miles from Dublin. The foundation of this institution forms one of the most remarkable features in the modern history of Ireland; and the reader will therefore be well pleased with the following particulars relative to it from the pen of Mr. Wakefield.

“ COLLEGE OF MAYNOOTH.—The establishment of the Roman catholic university at Maynooth, in the county of Kildare, was an act of the Irish parliament. Till the year 1793, a Roman catholic was not permitted to become a student in the university of Trinity College, Dublin; before that period, therefore, all young men intended for the Romish church in Ireland, were obliged to go to foreign universities, where they took their degrees, and afterwards returned to exercise the functions of their ministry. On the continent these persons never forgot that they were Irishmen: I know not how to account for it, but those who are even disaffected in their hearts to their own government, feel, when abroad, the *amor patriæ* still glow within them: and while they are very doubtful subjects to a foreign power, it is certain that, on going back to Ireland, it is difficult for them to forget the friendships, the intimacies, and the connections, which they formed during the period of youth. A foreign feeling, an interest in con-

mental success, consequently, hangs about their hearts, which in the course of conversation, I have often observed in some of the Roman catholic clergy in Ireland.

“ Previously to the repeal of the greater part of the penal code, the war with France had commenced, and extended to Spain. The Irish catholics, therefore, did not find it easy to send a sufficient number of persons abroad, to be educated, for filling up the vacancies in their priesthood. This inconvenience was felt just at the moment, when their rights, to a certain degree, were acknowledged by parliament, and, therefore, they boldly petitioned the legislature to obtain permission to establish an university for students of their own persuasion, under a charter of incorporation, that the funds raised to support it might be legally secured. By the petition, in the journals of the House of Commons, it appears, that they did not ask for an university which was to exclude protestants from entering it, if they thought proper. Parliament acceded to their wish, and, at the same time, voted money, for the purpose of assisting them in the erection of their establishment.

“ The college of Maynooth is said to be an encouragement to catholicism, and, therefore, it becomes necessary to enquire whether this assertion be founded on truth.—As true ideas of religion can arise only from a conviction of the mind, and not from doctrines which the law in vain endeavours to make us believe, it would not only be unjust but,

impolitic, to prevent people, of any persuasion, unless their tenets were subversive of good order and morality, from educating their children according to the dictates of their conscience ; were they restricted from this privilege, it is very unlikely that they would educate them in the established religion of the country. If the catholics were debarred from an opportunity of educating their young men for their own church at home, either foreign priests would be introduced, or men of low education. Every person knows, that less danger is to be apprehended, from a Roman catholic priest of a liberal education, capable of examining the scriptures in their originals, and of acquainting himself with the foundation in which his creed rests ; than from an illiterate bigot, who, through ignorance, has imbibed all the prejudices of the worst enthusiasts of his church, and who entertains more hatred to the protestant doctrine, the less he is acquainted with the real difference between it and his own. The ignorant among all christian sectaries attach more to importance of the external appendages of their religion, than those essential principles which may be recommended by divine authority, and of which it cannot be divested. They are, therefore, apt to mistake the object and end of those things merely ceremonial, and to consider that which was meant only as an incitement to devotion, as devotion itself. With those whose minds have been prepared by culture, for the investigation of truth, the case is

widely different.—If you accuse a well-educated Roman catholic, with paying adoration to an image, he will tell you that your reproach is unjust, and that he considers an image in no other light than as a sign, or symbol, placed before him to remind him of events; that by their being thus forcibly impressed upon his memory, he may be inspired with deeper devotion; and he will insist, that he esteems them in the same point of view as the protestants do the painting of the crucifixion, the last supper, or any other subject from the scriptural history, with which we adorn our churches. A well-informed catholic is persuaded, that the difference between the English church and his own, when stripped of what has been added to it by superstition, is not so great as the vulgar believe; and that the forms and ceremonies of the latter, the principal of which were retained after the reformation to bring over converts to the new doctrine, are still nearly the same. Hence the learned and liberal minded catholic perceives, that the breach which separates the two religions is not so wide as to induce him to look upon his protestant brethren with the same degree of rancour as the illiterate bigot, who is imperfectly acquainted with the principles of his own faith. The ignorant always prefer a religion that captivates the senses, and works upon the passions; the enlightened that which speaks to the reason, and carries with it conviction to the mind. Is catholicism, therefore, more likely to increase by the

spread of knowledge and instruction, or by leaving the people in ignorance? The true and rational mode of converting the catholics, is to facilitate to them the means of education; by which they will be enabled to compare their religious opinions with those of others, and either confirm themselves in their own faith through the operations of reason, or have it in their power to adopt different tenets, which they may conceive to be more in unison with truth. When through the inestimable advantages of erudition they have acquired sufficient knowledge to qualify them for judicious investigation, they will be less liable to rest in error. A Roman catholic priest, who has received a regular education, will be more likely to instil a sounder doctrine into the minds of his hearers, and to teach them those moral principles which are calculated to promote social union, than the man who has not enjoyed the same advantage; and, who being influenced by the gloom of superstition, makes religion to consist in external ceremonies, instead of those ardent sentiments of the heart, which raise the soul by rational conviction to the adoration of the Deity. I have seen the singular conduct of a self-appointed priest, who took upon him the sale of indulgencies, and the marrying of persons, without a license, such priests in Ireland are called 'couple beggars.' Can it be conducive to good order and morality to increase the number of such persons, who are considered by all respectable Roman catholics,

as well as protestants; the greatest part of the country.

" But even admitting that such men are not chosen by the Roman catholics, to be their spiritual instructors, if they cannot obtain priests educated in Ireland, they will be under the dangerous necessity of procuring them from foreign countries. Now whether they are foreigners, or natives educated abroad, it cannot be supposed that they would be warmed with the same attachment to the British government, as men who have received their education in their own country, under the protection of its laws, where they have acquired a knowledge of its principles, and where attachment has never been weakened by a residence in a foreign country.

" Had the terms of the catholic petition in 1793 been adhered to, and protestant students mixed with catholic in this establishment, it would have been a great and public benefit. Unfortunately, a very favourable opportunity of adopting a measure, which would have tended to promote harmony between these two religious parties, was neglected, and an university has been established for the exclusive education of catholics. But still an important point has been gained, by superseding the necessity of foreign education for young men destined for the ministry in the catholic church. I should place more confidence in a catholic educated in the bosom of his country, at Maynooth, in the midst of his relations and friends,

under the eye of government; and remote from the influence of exotic prejudices, than from one nurtured in the arms of our enemies, at St. Omers, Toulouse, or Bayonne, subject to the influence of gloomy enthusiasts or narrow minded bigots. I have reprobated the waste of thousands annually; on charity schools and foundling hospitals in Ireland; for the education of protestants, and, therefore, I shall, perhaps, be asked, how I can approve the expenditure for catholic education at Maynooth? My answer is: Because it will tend to diffuse at least some portion of education among the catholics, and add to the sum of public morality; it will supply Ireland with the succession of catholic clergymen, having the advantage of a good domestic education, and will exclude foreign hirelings, who are now brought from abroad, and who naturally disseminate principles hostile to the constitution, and cherish feelings which it is the interest of all parties to suppress. That secret political intercourse, which is so detrimental to the happiness of the people, and which has subsisted between Ireland and France for many years, will be either greatly weakened, or totally done away. In a word, as gratitude is a feeling natural to the human heart, I am persuaded that every young man educated in this seminary, will acquire an attachment to a government, through whose beneficence he participates in one of the greatest blessings of civilized society—a regular and virtuous education.

"That education" here, will be directed of all rancorous principles against those of a different faith, I am the more inclined to believe, because the tutors are instructed to educate and not to convert; and because no impolitic restrictions are imposed on the institution. But when I state these opinions, I cannot help expressing my conviction, that had it not been confined exclusively to students of one faith, it would have had a much more extended usefulness.

"For the support of this establishment, which is under the inspection of the chancellor, and chief judges, parliament voted annually 8,000*l.* and a few years ago the sum was increased to 13,000*l.*; but a little before my visit to Ireland, a general belief prevailed, that all assistance from government was to be withdrawn. If his majesty's ministers had any such intention and supposed that the college, if left to itself, would be entirely abandoned; they only exhibited their own weakness, and betrayed an ignorance of the disposition of the Roman catholics; which might excite astonishment; did we not know, that among modern statesmen, to acquire an accurate and complete knowledge of the situation and sentiments of those for whom they are to frame laws, is considered as an old fashioned and obsolete practice. Theory and general principles are sufficient, and sometimes even these are neither founded upon truth, nor consistent with sound policy. I was repeatedly told, that if the government should refuse its

support to the establishment, "the people" would continue it. So trifling do the catholics consider the sum of 8,000*l.* per annum, that they would readily forego that advantage, for the sake of shewing to the country that they are able support the establishment themselves; and such a circumstance would by many catholics be considered, a victory over their political opponents.

"It was once in contemplation to extend Trinity College, Dublin, so as to admit the students now at Maynooth; this plan, although recommended by some, was condemned by others, and, perhaps, without a proper enquiry into its merits, or of its utility. Could it have been carried into execution, it would no doubt have been attended with more benefit than might at first be imagined; but from what I can learn, the heads of that college would strongly object to catholic students being received there, on the same footing as those of protestants. But even if the heads of the college should so far extend their liberality, the original object and end of that establishment, would, perhaps, form an obstacle not easily to be surmounted. The speech of its present representative, which I shall give in his own words, and which certainly does no discredit to the choice of his constituents, affords some grounds for this opinion.

"As to the Dublin seminary, the excellent system of learning adopted there, had certainly induced a number of catholic gentry to send their sons to that college. The number of Roman

catholic students, were, I believe, considerably above forty: these young gentlemen pursued the same course of studies for four years, with their protestant fellow students; and in returning to their family, had a more friendly, liberal, and just idea of what a protestant was, than what they originally entertained, or, perhaps, could have otherwise have acquired; at the same time, that college could not forget the origin and nature of its institution. The gentlemen on the opposite benches, are, I am sure, too well versed in Irish history, not to know that the Dublin college was founded upon protestant principles, by Elizabeth, and for the growth and dissemination of the protestant religion. It was, in fact, a protestant garrison in a land of catholics, and the learned and respectable characters at the head of the government of that college, had uniformly acted up to the true spirit of its institution. In the reign of James the 2nd, the stand that college made for her civil and religious liberty, would remain upon honourable record; and the late spirit of religious moderation that induced her to forbear from taking any part in the disputes of the day, proved that she could forget her resentments, as well as remember her obligations*.

“The establishment of Maynooth, accommodates 200 students with lodgings; affords them

* Extract from Mr. John L. Foster's Speech, 15th of Aug. 1807. Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, Vol. ix. P. 321.

commons and instruction; supplies them in the public halls with coals and candles, during the studying hours. Each student pays 9l. 2s. entrance money; provides himself with clothes, books, bedding, and chamber furniture; pays for washing, mending, and candle-light, for his room. This expence may be moderately estimated at 20l. per annum.

“ Each student before his admission must deliver to the president authentic certificates of his age, parentage, baptism, and of having taken the oath of allegiance, together with the recommendation of his prelates. He is then examined in the classics, and admitted, if approved by the major part of the examiners.

“ The following is the course of study pursued in the seminary—

“ **HUMANITY.** Under class, Latin and Greek, Sallust, Virgil and Horace, explained. Exercise; select passages from Goldsmith's Roman History, occasionally translated into Latin. Portions of the Greek Testament; Lucian and Xenophon construed and explained.

“ **BELLES LETTRES.**—Or first class of Greek and Latin. Greek. Gospel of St. Luke; Acts of the Apostles; Epistle of St. Paul; Homer; Epicetetus; Xenophon, explained, &c.

“ **LATIN.** Cicero's Orations, Offices, Livy, part of Seneca, Pliny's Letters, Horace explained, &c. The rules of Latin versification.

PHILOSOPHY. Logic, Metaphysics, Ethics. The professor obliged, from the paucity of books, to compile the Treatise, and dictate the same to his scholars. Books; Leguy's Philosophy; Locke.

NATURAL AND EXPERIMENTAL PHILOSOPHY. Different branches of Elementary Mathematics; Algebra; Geometry; Conic Sections; Astronomy; Mechanics; Optics; Hydraulics; &c. Chemistry.

DIVINITY. Divinity; First course, De Religione; Second, De Incarnatione et Ecclesia; Third, De Sacramentis in genere; De Eucharistia. The Professor obliged to compile Treatises on three subjects, chiefly from the following works; Hook, Bailly, Le Grand, Parisiis, 1774; Tournaley, N. Alexander, P. Collet, &c. He dictates his courses.

MORAL. First course—De Actibus Humanis; De Conscientia; De Peccatis; De Matrimonia—Book; Paul Antoine. Second Course—De Legibus; De Virtutibus Theol. et Moral; De Sacramento Pœnitentiæ; Petrus; Collêt. Third Course—De Jura et Justitiâ; De Contractibus, De Obligatione Statuum; De Censuris, &c.: Continuatur Tournillii.

" There is no regular professor at present of Sacred Scriptures; but a portion of the New Testament is committed to memory every week; the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles are explained from Domcalmet, Maldonatus,

Esthiers, the Synopsis Criticorum, and other Biblical exponents.

" MODERN LANGUAGES—ENGLISH. Murray's Grammar; Usher's Elocution; Sheridan; Walker.

" IRISH—M'Curtin's Grammar; Irish Testament explained; Fragments translated into English.

" FRENCH—Grammar, Fenelon, Massillon, &c.

" The following is the establishment in regard to Professorships, as it stood in 1808.

				£	d.
A President General, Governor of College.....	227	10	0	}	Commons, Gratuities, use of a Servant.
A Vice President General, Governor, in the absence of the president.....	63	0	0		Commons, lodging, fire, and table.
A Dean	85	0	0		ditto
A Procurator or Bursar	106	0	0		ditto
A Professor of Dogmatic Theology	106	0	0		ditto
A Professor of Moral Theology	106	0	0		ditto
A Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy	85	0	0		ditto
A Professor of Logic	85	0	0		ditto
A Professor of Belles Lettres	85	0	0		ditto
A Professor of Greek and Latin ..	75	0	0		ditto
				Salary.	Other advantages.
A Lecturer of Dogmatic Theology	75	8	0		ditto

* A President's real salary 115l. 15s. remainder for casual expences.

	Salary.	Office advantages.
A Lecturer of Moral Theology	75 0 0	ditto
A Lecturer in Logic	55 10 0	ditto
A Professor of English Elocution	100 0 0	ditto
A Professor of the Irish Language	75 0 0	common as above
A Treasurer and Secretary to the Trustees	75 15 0	ditto
A Physician	56 17 6	
An Agent	890 *	

" Since writing this chapter, a great event has occurred in favour of national education in Ireland, a society for promoting this purpose has been formed, as will appear from the following document.

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE EDUCATION OF THE POOR OF IRELAND.

" The education of the poor of Ireland, is a grand object, which every Irishman, anxious for the welfare and prosperity of his country, should have in view; as the basis on which its morals and true happiness can be secured. It is, therefore, considered highly important, that schools should be opened, divested of all sectarian distinctions, in every part of the arrangement.

" To forward this measure, a society has been formed and denominated, ' A Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland.

* Papers presented to the house of commons relating to the Royal College of St. Patrick, Maynooth; ordered to be printed 29th of March, and 6th of April, 1808.

It

"All subscribers of not less than ten guineas, and a donation of one guinea annually, shall be considered members thereof.

"The affairs of the society are to be conducted by a committee of twenty-one members, to be annually selected, who shall report to a general meeting, to be held on the second Monday in May, in each year.

"The object of the Society being to promote the establishment, and facilitate the conducting of schools, wherein the poor of Ireland may be instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic, in a cheap and expeditious way, and without sectarian distinctions, they have adopted the following plan of procedure.

"They will give information upon the subject of erecting and fitting up of school-houses upon a suitable plan; and so far as their funds will allow, they will contribute to the expence that may be incurred upon this head, by local associations.

"They will assist in procuring properly qualified school-masters.

"They will furnish stationery, books, slates, and other articles necessary for schools, at reduced prices.

"And they recommend the plan practised by Mr. Joseph Lancaster, giving a scriptural education, and combining therewith economy and method, as well adapted to meet the circumstances of the poor of Ireland. And they further recom-

mend—that in the schools to be founded, there be no distinction on account of religious opinions in managers, instructors, scholars, and that catechisms and books of religious controversy be excluded.

The following committee, consisting of eleven members, have been appointed, with liberty to add ten others to their number, to take such measures as they shall deem necessary to forward the object of the Society, any of whom, as also the Right Hon. David La Touche and Co. treasurers to the society, will receive subscriptions.

Peter D. La Touche, Bank Castle Street.

John Leland Maquay, Stephen's Green.

Samuel Bewley, Meath Street.

John Barrington, Great Britain Street.

Lake Magrath, Grenville Street.

Arthur Guinness, James's Gate.

Thos. H. Orpen, M. D. South Frederick Street.

Edw. Allen, Upper Bridge Street.

W. Todhunter, Holles Street.

Thomas Parnell, 25, Merton-square, North.

W. Thorpe, M. D. Gardiner Street.

DUBLIN SOCIETY.

This society for the improvement of agriculture and manufactures, was instituted by the efforts of the patriotic Dr. Samuel Madden in 1731, being the earliest of the kind now existing in Europe.

Ireland; with an excellent haven formed by the long estuary of the river Shannon. It is counted the third city in Ireland. There are three bridges over the river, one of which consists of fourteen arches. Inhabitants about 50,000. It has an export of pork, beef, and butter; but its chief trade is in grain, of which larger quantities are sent from this, than from any other port in Ireland. — GALWAY is a town of considerable note, and carries on an extensive trade with the West Indies. Inhabitants 12,000. — BELFAST, on the NIE, is the centre of the linen manufactures, and may also be regarded as a Scottish colony. Inhabitants computed at 20,000. Chief manufactures, cotton, tambrie, sail-cloth, linen, with glass, sugar, and earthenware. Its chief exports are to the West Indies. — NEWRY is the second of the northern towns. Its butter trade amounts to about 300,000 annually; and the linens exported from it in one year, ending January 1803, amounted to 200,000l. The average of the weekly sales in the linen market is estimated at 4,500l. In the south-east WEXFORD is remarkable for its woollen manufactures. Inhabitants 9000. — WATERFORD is a city of considerable importance, situated on the river Suire; its population about 35,000. The chief exports are pork, beef, grain and linen. Packet boats sail regularly between Waterford and Milford Haven. Of the interior towns of Ireland KILKENNY and CLONMELL on

the Swire are the principal; the former contains above 16,000 inhabitants.

The chief river of Ireland is the SHANNON, which rises from the lake of Allen, and extends below Limerick into a vast estuary or mouth, about sixty miles in length, and from three to ten in breadth. The whole course of the Shannon may be computed at 170 miles. The other rivers of Ireland have little of this majestic character.

The BARRY rises about forty miles to the west of Dublin, near the source of the Boyne, and after a course of about 100 miles, enters the sea on the south east. It has been rendered navigable to Ashy, where the grand canal joins it. The SLANEY forms the harbour of Wexford. The LISKE is an inconsiderable stream. The BOYNE after a course of about fifty miles also enters the eastern sea. The BANN is a considerable stream in the north, which enters the sea after a course of about 70 miles. The river FOYLE passes by Londonderry, and has a considerable estuary called LOUGH FOYLE. The SWILLE is of no considerable length.

The SWILLE is of no considerable length.

The SWILLE is of no considerable length.

The SWILLE is of no considerable length.

The SWILLE is of no considerable length.

The SWILLE is of no considerable length.

The SWILLE is of no considerable length.

The SWILLE is of no considerable length.

MANUFACTURES AND COMMERCE.

Ireland, according to a memoir by the late Earl of Charlemont, in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, was early distinguished for her manufactures of woollen stuffs. Her woollen trade, however, as has been already seen, in the course of her history, became an object of jealousy to England, and it was crippled in various ways, so that her efforts became directed towards the linen manufacture, in which she has eminently succeeded. The annual produce of this manufacture was computed in the year 1780, at 2,000,000*l.* sterling. In the year ending January, 1799, the value of Irish linen exported to Great Britain exceeded 2,500,000*l.* exclusive of that sent to America, and consumed at home; and it has since considerably increased. But a great portion of the commerce of Ireland arises from her abundant stores of black cattle, the moisture of the climate rendering the pasturage remarkably luxuriant. In 1780, Mr. Young computed the average imports of Ireland at 1,240,677*l.* and the exports at 2,012,202*l.* From the annual average taken of the three years preceding the 5th of Jan. 1799, it appeared that the total value of exports from Ireland to Great Britain alone, was 5,612,689*l.* whilst the value of imports from Great Britain was only 3,555,845*l.* leaving a balance in favour of Ireland of 2,056,844*l.*

(See Appendix to Lord Auckland's Speech on the Union.) This balance has been considerably increased since the union, though it is in some measure counterbalanced by what goes out of the country in rents, &c. to absentees, and for the interest of loans raised in England. This latter evil, however, it is now endeavoured to obviate as far as possible by raising the loans in Ireland which was entirely accomplished in the last loan.

BOOK III.

THE MANNERS, CUSTOMS, LITERATURE, &c. OF
IRELAND.

CHAP. I.

Literature of Ireland of great antiquity—Sir J. Ware's account of Irish authors—Its modern literature—List of the celebrated men it has produced—Curran and Grattan—Specimens of their eloquence—Character of Grattan—The manners and customs of the Irish—Extract from Dr. Crumpe—A philosophical investigation of the Irish character.

THE literature of Ireland has a claim to very high antiquity, for in the centuries immediately following the introduction of christianity many writers arose, whose works were not perhaps adapted to the popular taste as they consisted of lives of saints, and works of piety and discipline, but to the inquisitive reader, they present many singular features of the history of the human mind.

The chief glory of the ancient Irish literature arises, however, from the diffusion of the rays of science, after it had almost perished in Europe, on the fall of the Roman Empire in the west. The Anglo-Saxons in particular derived their first illumination from Ireland; and in Scotland, literature continued to be the special province of the Irish clergy till the thirteenth century.

Sir J. Ware, an ingenious and respectable writer of the last century, published a small volume containing a chronological catalogue of Irish authors from about the year 450, to his own time, containing about 200 names: the tenth century, as usual in European literature, being the most barren, whence it is styled by literary men, the dark century. The modern literature of Ireland boasts of many names which need not fear comparison with those of any other country: and as a proof of this assertion we select the following from among many. Usher, a learned chronologer, linguist and biblical critic: Boyle, Sir J. Denham, Parquhar, Congreve, Sir Richard Steel, Sir Hans Sloane, Bishop Berkley, Lord Orrery, Parnell, Swift, Goldsmith, Sterne, Lord Charlemont, Kirwan, the celebrated mineralogist, Bickerstaff, Macklin, Canning (the present distinguished statesman and writer) Brinsley Sheridan, Grattan, Burke, Dermody, Mrs. Brooke, Mrs. Sheridan, Miss Edgeworth, and Dean Kirwan, &c. &c. This is surely an honourable list; and in conformity with our plan we shall select two names

from among them—living characters—of whose brilliant genius we propose to exhibit some interesting specimens. They are Curran and Grattan: two orators of distinguished renown. Of the talents of their contemporaries and opponents, Flood, Burgh, Fitzgibbon, and others, many specimens have been given in the course of this work; nor have we been sparing of proofs of genius selected from the speeches of Curran and Grattan: but the following examples, arranged in a sort of systematic manner, and culled indifferently from the records of their fame, will be both pleasing and useful to the reader. We shall begin with the fervid eloquence of Curran.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SCOTTISH CHARACTER.

——— “ A nation cast in the happy medium between the spiritless acquiescence of submissive poverty, and the sturdy credulity of pampered wealth; cool and ardent; adventurous and persevering, winging her eagle flight against the blaze of every science, with an eye that never winks, and a wing that never tires; crowned as she is with the spoils of every art, and decked with the wreath of every muse, from the deep and scrutinizing researches of her Hume, to the sweet and simple, but not less sublime and pathetic morality of her Burns—how, from the bosom of a country like that, genius and character, and talents,

should be banished to a distant, barbarous soil *; condemned to pine under the horrid communion of vulgar vice and base-born profligacy, for twice the period that ordinary calculation gives to the continuance of human life?

UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

“ Universal emancipation! No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced;—no matter what complexion, incompatible with freedom, an Indian or African sun may have burnt upon him;—no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may have been cloven down;—no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted upon the altar of slavery; the first moment he touches the sacred soil of Britain, the altar and the god sink together in the dust; his soul walks abroad in her own majesty, his body swells beyond the measure of his chains that burst from around him, and he stands redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, by the irresistible genius of universal emancipation!”

* Mr. Curran alludes to the sentence of transportation passed in Scotland upon Mr. Muir, &c. &c,

EXQUISITE IRONICAL HUMOUR.

"Gentlemen, how then does Mr. O'Brien's tale hang together? Look to its commencement. He walks along Thomas Street in the open day, (a street not the least populous in this city), and is accosted by a man who, without any preface, tells him he'll be murdered before he goes half the street, unless he becomes an united Irishman! do you think this a probable story? Suppose any of you gentlemen, be a united Irishman, a free-mason, or a friendly-brother, and that you met me walking innocently along, just like Mr. O'Brien, and meaning no harm, would you say, 'Stop, Mr. Curran, don't go further; you'll be murdered before you go half the street, if you do not become a united Irishman, a free-mason, or a friendly brother. Did you ever hear so coaxing an invitation to felony as this? 'Sweet Mr. James O'Brien! come in and save you precious life; come in and take an oath, or you'll be murdered before you go half the street! Do, sweetest, dearest, Mr. James O'Brien, come in and do not risk your valuable existence!' What a loss had he been to his king whom he loves so marvellously! Well, what does poor Mr. O'Brien do? Poor, dear, man, he stands petrified with the magnitude of his danger—all his members refuse their office—he can neither run from the danger, nor call out for assistance;

his tongue cleaves to his mouth, and his feet incorporate with the paving stones : it is in vain that his expressive eye silently implorcs protection of the passengers; he yields at length, as greater men have done, and resignedly submits to his fate—he then enters the house, and being led into a room, a parcel of men make faces at him—but mark the metamorphosis—Well may it be said, that ‘miracles will never cease’—he who feared to resist in the open air, and in the face of the public, becomes a bravo when pent up in a room, and environed by sixteen men; and one is obliged to bar the door, while another swears him, which, after some resistance, is accordingly done, and poor Mr. O’Brien becomes a united Irishman, for no earthly purpose, whatever, but merely to save his sweet life!—but this is not all; the pill so bitter to the percipiency of his loyal palate must be washed down; and lest he should throw it off his stomach, he is filled up to the neck with beef and whisky.

GUILT.

“ You find him coiling himself in the scaly circles of his cautious perjury, making anticipated battle against any one who should appear against him; but you see him sink before the proof.

FINE DESCRIPTION OF AN INFORMER.

" This cannibal informer, this demon O'Brien, greedy after human gore, has fifteen other victims in reserve, if, from your verdict, he receives the unhappy man at this bar ! Fifteen more of your fellow citizens are to be tried on his evidence ! Be you, then, their saviours ; let your verdict snatch them from his ravening maw, and interpose between yourselves and endless remorse !

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

" I do not pretend to be a mighty grammarian, or a formidable critic ; but I would beg leave to suggest to you in serious humility, that a free press can be supported only by the ardour of men who feel the prompting sting of real or supposed incapacity ; who write from the enthusiasm of virtue, or the ambition of praise, and over whom, if you exercise the rigour of a grammatical censorship, you will inspire them with as mean an opinion of your integrity as your wisdom, and inevitably drive them from their post, and if you do, rely upon it you will reduce the spirit of publication and with it the press of this country, to what it for a long interval has been, the register of births, and fairs, and funerals, and the general abuse of the people and their friends.

AN INNOCENT VICTIM.

“ Suppose that after that period of lingering deliberation passed, a third respite is transmitted; that the unhappy captive himself feels the cheering hope of being restored to a family that he adored, to a character that he had never stained, and to a country that he had ever loved; suppose that you had seen his wife and children upon their knees, giving those tears to gratitude which their locked and frozen hearts could not give to anguish and despair, and imploring the blessings of eternal Providence upon his head who had graciously spared the father, and restored him to his children; that you had seen the olive-branch sent into *his little ark*, but no sign that the *waters had subsided*. ‘ Alas! nor wife, nor children, more shall he behold; nor friends, nor sacred home!’ No seraph mercy unbars his dungeon, and leads him forth to light and life; but the minister of death hurries him to the scene of suffering and of shame, where, unmoved by the hostile array of artillery and armed men collected together to secure, or to insult, or to disturb him; he dies with a solemn declaration of his innocence, and utters his last breath in a prayer for the liberty of his country!

LIBEL.

“ Perhaps, gentlemen, he may know you better than I do; if he does, he has spoken to you as he ought; he has been right in telling you, that

if the reprobation of this writer is weak, it is because his genius could not make it stronger; he has been right in telling you, that his language has not been *braided and festooned as elegantly as it might; that he has not finished the miserable plaits of his phraseology, nor placed his patches and feathers with that correctness of millinery* which became so exalted a person. If you agree with him, gentlemen of the jury; if you think that the man who ventures, at the hazard of his own life, to rescue from the deep the drowned honour of his country, must not presume upon the *guilty familiarity of plucking it up by the locks*, I have no more to say. Do a courteous thing: upright and honest jurors! find a civil and obliging verdict against the printer, and when you have done so, march through the ranks of your fellow-citizens to your own homes, and bear their looks as they pass along; retire to the bosom of your families and children, and when you are presiding over the morality of the parental board, tell those infants, who are to be the future men of Ireland, the history of this day. Form their young minds by your precepts, and confirm those precepts by your own example; teach them how discreetly allegiance may be perjured on the table, or loyalty be foresworn in the jury-box; and when you have done so, tell them the story of Orr; tell them of his captivity, of his children, of his crime, of his hopes, of his disappointments, of his courage, and of his death;

and when you find your little hearers hanging upon your lips, when you see their eyes overflow with sympathy and sorrow, and their young hearts bursting with the pangs of anticipated orphanage, tell them that you had the boldness and the justice to stigmatize the monster who had dared to publish the transaction.

VIRTUE OPPOSED TO HEREDITARY RANK.

“ A similar application was made at the beginning of this session in the Lords of Great Britain, by our illustrious countryman, of whom I do not wonder that my learned friend should have observed, how *much virtue can fling pedigree into the shade*, or how much the transient honour of a body inherited from a man is obscured by the lustre of an intellect derived from God.

OPPRESSION.

“ Merciful God ! what is the state of Ireland, and where shall you find the wretched inhabitant of this land ! You may find him, perhaps, in a gaol, the only place of security, I had almost said of ordinary habitation ; you may see him flying by the conflagrations of his own dwelling ; or you may find *his bones bleaching in the green fields of his country* ; or he may be found tossing upon the ocean, and mingling his groans with those tempests, less savage than his persecutors, that

drift him to a *returnless* distance from his family and his home.

PENAL LAWS.

" In this country penal laws had been tried beyond any example of any former times. What was the event? The race between penalty and crime was continued, each growing fiercer in the conflict, till the penalty could go no further, *and the fugitive turned upon the breathless pursuer.*

IMPRISONMENT.

" To this gentleman (Major Sandys) was my client consigned, and in his custody he remained about seven weeks, unthought of by the world, as if he had never existed. *The oblivion of the buried is as profound as the oblivion of the dead.* His family may have mourned his absence, or his probable death; but why should I mention so paltry a circumstance? The fears or the sorrows of the wretched give no interruption to the general progress of things. The sun rose, and the sun set, just as it did before.

EFFECT OF GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

" When you endeavour to convey an idea of a great number of barbarians practising a great variety of cruelties upon an incalculable multitude of sufferers, nothing defined or specific finds its

way to the heart, nor is any sentiment excited, save that of a general, erratic, unappropriated commiseration. If, for instance, you wished to convey to the mind of an English matron the horrors of that direful period when, in defiance of the remonstrance of the ever-to-be-lamented Abercromby, our poor people were surrendered to the licentious brutality of the soldiery, by the authority of the state, you would vainly endeavour to give her a general picture of lust, and rapine, and murder, and conflagration. By endeavouring to comprehend every thing, you would convey nothing. When the father of poetry wishes to pourtray the movements of contending armies, and an embattled field, he *exemplifies only*, he does not describe; he does not venture to describe the perplexed and promiscuous conflicts of adverse hosts, but by the acts and fates of a few individuals he conveys a notion of the vicissitudes of the fight and the fortunes of the day. So should your story to her keep clear of generalities; instead of exhibiting the picture of an entire province, select a single object; do not release the imagination of your hearer from its task, by giving more than an outline. Take a cottage; place the affrighted mother of her orphan daughters at the door, the paleness of death upon her face, and more than its agonies in her heart; her aching heart, her anxious ear, struggling through the mist of closing day, to catch the approaches of desolation and dishonour. The ruffian gang ar-

arrives, the feast of plunder begins, the cup of madness kindles in its circulation, the wandering glances of the ravisher become concentrated upon the shrinking and devoted victim. You need not dilate, you need not expatiate; the unpolluted mother, to whom you tell the story of horror, beseeches you not to proceed; she presses her child to her heart, she drowns it in her tears, her fancy catches more than an angel's tongue could describe; at a single view she takes in the whole miserable succession of force, of profanation, of despair, of death!

MODERATION IN GRIEF.

“ My miserable client, when his *brain was on fire*, and every fiend of hell was let loose upon his heart, he should then, it seems, have placed himself before his mirror; he should have taught the stream of agony to flow decorously down his forehead; he should have composed his features to harmony, he should have writhed with grace, and groaned with melody.

DESCRIPTION OF SILENCE.

“ The weakest voice is heard—the shepherd's whistle shoots across the listening darkness of the interminable heath, and gives notice that the wolf is upon his walk; and the same gloom and stillness that tempt the monster to come abroad, faci-

litate the communication of the warning to beware. Yes, through that silence the voice shall be heard; through that silence the shepherd shall be put upon his guard.

INSIGNIFICANT OBJECTS.

“ Is the ocean ever tossed by the tempest to waft a feather or to drown a fly? Thus haughtily and jealously I trust you will seek some nobler assistance than can be found in the principles or or practice of day rules or inside bar motions; something more worthy a liberal and learned court, acting under a religious sense of their duty to their king, their country, and their God, than the feeble and pedantic aid of a stunted verbal interpretation, straining upon tip-toe to peep over the syllable that stands between it and the meaning.”

The following extract contains a singularly fine and eloquent strain of sentiment. It is from Mr. Curran's speech on the trial of the Marquis of Headfort for adultery with the wife of the Rev. Charles Massy.

“ Honourably, but fatally for his own purpose, he was neither jealous, suspicious, nor cruel. He treated the defendant with the confidence of a friend, and his wife with the tenderness of a husband. He did leave to the noble marquis the physical possibility of committing against him the

greatest crime which can be perpetrated against a being of an amiable heart and refined education. In the middle of the day, at the moment of divine worship, when the miserable husband was on his knees, directing the prayers and thanksgiving of his congregation to their God,—that moment did the remorseless adulterer choose to carry off the deluded victim from her husband, from her child, from her character, from her happiness, as if not content to leave his crime confined to its miserable aggravations, unless he gave it a cast and colour of factitious sacrilege and impiety. Oh! how happy had it been when he arrived at the bank of the river with the ill-fated fugitive, ere yet he had committed her to that boat, of which, like the fabled barque of Styx, the exile was eternal; how happy at that moment, so teeming with misery and with shame, if you, my lord, had met him, and could have accosted him in the character of that good genius which had abandoned him. How impressively might you have pleaded the cause of the father, of the child, of the mother, and even of the worthless defendant himself. You would have said, ‘is this the requital that you are about to make for respect and kindness, and confidence in your honour? Can you deliberately expose this young man, in the bloom of life, with all his hopes before him? Can you expose him, a wretched outcast from society, to the scorn of a merciless world? Can you set him adrift upon the tempestuous ocean of his own

passions at this early season when they are most headstrong; and can you cut him out from the moorings of those domestic obligations by whose cable he might ride at safety from their turbulence? Think of, if you can conceive it, what a powerful influence arises from the sense of home; from the sacred religion of the hearth, in quelling the passions; in reclaiming the wanderings, in correcting the discords of the human heart; do not cruelly take from him the protection of these attachments. But if you have no pity for the father, have mercy at least upon his innocent and helpless child; do not condemn him to an education scandalous and neglected; do not strike him into that most dreadful of all human conditions, the orphanage that springs not from the grave; that falls not from the hand of Providence or the stroke of death, but comes before its time, anticipated and inflicted by the remorseless cruelty of parental guilt. For the poor victim herself, not yet immolated, while yet balancing upon the pivot of her destiny; your heart could not be cold, nor your tongue be wordless. You would have said to him, 'Pause, my lord, while there is yet a moment for reflection. What are your motives, what your views; what your prospects from what you are about to do? You are a married man, the husband of the most amiable and respectable of women; you cannot look to the chance of marrying this wretched fugitive; between you and such an event there are two sepulchres to pass.

What are your inducements? Is it love, think you? No.—Do not give that name to any attraction you can find in the faded refuse of a violated bed. Love is a noble and a generous passion; it can be founded only on a pure and ardent friendship, on an exalted respect, on an implicit confidence in its object. Search your heart, examine your judgment; do you find the semblance of any one of these sentiments to bind you to her? What could degrade a mind to which nature or education had given port, or stature, or character, into a friendship for her? Could you repose upon her faith? Look in her face, my lord; she is at this moment giving you the violation of the most sacred of human obligations as the pledge of her fidelity: she is giving you the most irrefragable proof, that, as she is deserting her husband for you, so she would without a scruple abandon you for another. Do you anticipate any pleasure you might feel in the possible event of your becoming the parents of a common child? She is at this moment proving to you, that she is as dead to the sense of parental as of conjugat obligation, and that she would abandon your offspring to-morrow with the same facility with which she now deserts her own. Look then at her conduct as it is, as the world must behold it, blackened by every aggravation that can make it either odious or contemptible, and unrelieved by a single circumstance of mitigation that could palliate its guilt, or retrieve it from abhorrence.”

The following extract is from his speech in behalf of Lady Pamela Fitzgerald, against whom a bill of attainder had been passed. The reader's attention may be particularly directed to the felicitous antithesis with which the second paragraph concludes. The whole speech is a tissue of splendid passages.

"One topic more," said he, "you will permit me to add. Every act of the sort ought to have a practical morality flowing from its principle: if loyalty and justice require that these infants should be deprived of bread must it not be a violation of that principle to give them food or shelter? Must not every loyal and just man wish to see them, in the words of the famous Golden Bull, 'always poor and necessitous, and for ever accompanied by the infamy of their father, languishing in continued indigence, and finding their punishment in living and their relief in dying.'

"If the widowed mother should carry the orphan heir of her unfortunate husband to the gate of any man who might feel himself touched with the sad vicissitudes of human affairs; who might feel a compassionate reverence for the noble blood that flowed in his veins, *nobler than the royalty that first ennobled it*: that like a rich stream rose till it ran and hid its fountain; if, remembering the many noble qualities of his unfortunate father, his heart melted over the calamities of the child; if his heart swelled, if his eyes overflowed, if his too precipitate hand was

stretched out by his pity or his gratitude to the poor excommunicated sufferers, how could he justify the *rebel tear* or the *traiterous humanity*?

"I shall trespass no longer upon the patience for which I am grateful; one word only, and I have done. And that is, once more earnestly and solemnly to conjure you to reflect that the fact, I mean the fact of guilt or innocence, (which must be the foundation of this bill,) is not now, after the death of the party, capable of being tried, consistently with the liberty of a free people, or the unalterable rules of eternal justice,

"And that, as to the forfeiture and the ignominy which it enacts, that only can be punishment which lights upon *guilt*, and that can be only *vengeance* which *breaks* upon INNOCENCE!!!"

In concluding with the following extract, let it not be supposed that we have exhausted Mr. Curran's eloquence, or genius, or fancy. *Copia inopiam fecit,*

CHARACTER OF THE IRISH.

"There is another consideration, gentlemen, which I think most imperiously demands even a vindictive award of exemplary damages, and that is the breach of hospitality. To us particularly does it belong to avenge the violation of its altar. The hospitality of other countries is a matter of necessity or convention; in savage nations of the first, in polished of the latter; *but the hospitality*

of an Irishman is not the running account of posted and ledgered courtesies, as in other countries; it springs like all his qualities, his faults, his virtues, directly from his heart. The heart of an Irishman is by nature bold, and he confides; it is tender, and he loves; it is generous, and he gives; it is social, and he is hospitable. This sacrilegious intruder has profaned the religion of that sacred altar, so elevated in our worship, so precious to our devotion; and it is our privilege to avenge the crime. You must either pull down the altar, and abolish the worship, or you must preserve its sanctity undebased. There is no alternative between the universal exclusion of all mankind from your threshold, and the most rigorous punishment of him who is admitted and betrays. This defendant has been so trusted, has so betrayed, and you ought to make him a most signal example."

It may be confidently anticipated, that these detached and luminous effusions will only excite in the reader an unextinguishable ardour to possess the solid mass from which these brilliant morsels have been struck off. Let him, therefore, inspect the printed speeches of Curran, in which, amidst all the inaccuracies of unskilful reporting, there still remain such vast proofs of eloquence, never perhaps surpassed, as will at once captivate and astonish.

In passing to the senatorial efforts of Grattan, a different species of eloquence presents itself: close, concentrated language; rapidity of thought; fertility of illustration; force of expression; abruptness of diction; richness of imagery, and profundity of idea, characterize that orator's manner. With a capacious mind, he eminently possesses the power of condensing, in a single proposition, and that proposition emitted with laconic brevity, the most important truths, and truths that must have been deduced from a long series of premises: these, however, he discards, and bursts upon his audience with a succession of original and weighty axioms, clothed in a most expressive brevity of style, and sometimes enforced with an uncommon profusion of vivid images. The following examples, added to the many brilliant ones already diffused over the body of this work, will convey a better notion to the reader than any abstract description could do.

PROVIDENCE.

"So it frequently happens; men are but instruments of Providence, and, without knowing it, fulfil her ways. The zealot is *but an inflamed organ*, bursting forth with unpremeditated truth.

TOLERATION.

"The source of your reason tells you that you should embrace every sect of religion; how then

can you hope to receive sovereign mercy, if you are deaf to the cries of your fellow-creatures? The doctrine of the dark concave of bigotry, which, bursting, overwhelmed the nations of the earth, may be urged in favour of such criminal apathy; but the pangs of him who suffered a cruel crucifixion will rush from the sepulchre, to upbraid you with ingratitude, and involve your future tranquillity.

ILLIBERALITY.

When a bill for the improvement of barren lands, and the encouragement of industry among the lower orders of the people, was in the last session resisted by the spiritual peers, a right reverend prelate was said to have declared as a principle, that the poor should not be relieved, if the clergy were to be at the expense. Such a sentiment coming from a christian, and a protestant bishop, must have smitten every breast with deep and sincere affliction; but if we are cast down by so great and grave an authority on the one side, we are consoled again by a still higher interposition, the express commands and practice of the scriptures on the other. The Saviour of man suffered on a principle different from that which the right reverend prelate has introduced. The apostles, the martyrs, and *that flaming constellation of men*, that in the early age of christianity *shot to their station in the heavens, and fell, and falling*

Illumined the nations of the earth with the blaze of the Gospel, they rose and they fell with inspirations of a very different kind. Had Christ been of the prelate's opinion, he never had been born, and we never had been saved. Had he said to his apostles, 'The poor are not to be fed, the valley is not to laugh and to sing at the expence of our church;' or had the apostles said to the nations of the earth, 'Ye are not to be benefited at the expence of christian pastors;' or had the martyrs expostulated with themselves, 'We will not suffer for mankind,' what had become of the christian religion? Let the pagan priest of Jove, or the sensual priest of Mahomet, deliver such doctrine, but don't you part with the palm of christianity, nor relinquish the lofty self-surrendering precepts of your Gospel, to poach in politics for little and wicked tenets, in order to brand your prayer book with the image of a sorry selfishness, which would disgrace the frontispiece of Machiavel.

DESCRIPTION OF A GREAT CHARACTER,

"I speak of some, not all. There are among them men whom I revere. Such is one whom I don't name, because he is present: mild, learned, pious, and benevolent; a friend to the meekness of the Gospel, and a friend to man. Such is another whom I may venture to name, because he is not present. He has the first episcopal dignity in

this realm—it is his right—he takes it by virtue of the commanding benevolence of his mind, in right of a superior and exalted nature. There are men possessed of certain creative powers, and who distinguish the place of their nativity, instead of being distinguished by it—they don't receive, they give birth to the place of their residence, and vivify the region which is about them. The man I allude to I know him not, or know him as we know superior beings, only by his works.

ANONYMOUS SLANDER.

“No man, no body of men, has a right to charge on a member of the legislature, as his speech made therein, an unauthorised publication. Against this rule have transgressed those anonymous and wrathful clergymen, who, in a flock of noisy publications, have attacked what I never published, and replied to what I never said. They are welcome—they have shewn that all of them can excel—their patron, I hope, will reward them! *The flies of the vintage*, they gather about the press, and already taste, in devout expectation, the inspiring fruit. A light swarm! that they should travel over boundaries I am not astonished; but that the grave body, the parochial clergy of Munster, with their six bishops, should assail me, is strange—but they too are welcome,

USURPED CONSEQUENCE.

"But it should seem it was not religion which supported the parson, but the parson that supported religion. The error, however, is natural and common; the politician thinks the state rests on his shoulders, and the dignified divine imagines the church, and the christian religion, the *firmament and starry sphere*, to dance round his person and property. It is a matter of curiosity to know what, on the present occasion, has endangered the christian religion; an anonymous pamphlet against tithe, and a motion to enquire into the sufferings of the poor, for this is the godhead brought out of his shrine, and exposed as an outwork in defence of church property."

In Mr. Grattan's celebrated address to his fellow-citizens in 1797, the following beautiful passages occur,

DEMOCRACY.

"We saw the minister retreating from the enemy with as rapid a step as he advanced upon the people, going back, and back, and back; while the democratic principle in Europe was getting on, and on, like a mist at the heels of the countryman, small at first, and lowly, but soon ascending to the hills, and overcasting the hemisphere."

OUTRAGE.

" Sensible acts of violence have an epidemic force : they operate by sympathy ; *they possess the air, as it were, by certain tender influences,* and spread the kindred passion through the whole community,

TOLERATION.

" Kings have no right to enter into the *tabernacle of the human mind*, and hang up there the images of their own orthodoxy. We know of no *royal rule* either for religion or mathematics.

WEAKNESS OF HUMAN NATURE.

" Our contemplation, the most profound, on divine nature, can only lead us to one great conclusion, our own immeasurable inanity ; from whence we should learn, that we can never serve God but in serving his creature ; and to think we serve God by a profusion of prayer, when we degrade and proscribe his creature, and our fellow creature, was to suppose heaven, like the court of princes, a region of flattery, and that man can there procure a holy connivance at his inhumanity on the personal application of luxurious and complimentary devotion :

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

" A gigantic form walked the earth at this moment, who smote crowns with an hundred hands, and opened, for the seduction of their subjects, a hundred arms.

EXTENDED EMPIRE.

" When England had conquered France, possessed America, guided the councils of Prussia, directed Holland, and intimidated Spain; when she was *the great western temple* to which the nations of the earth repaired, from whence to draw eternal oracles of policy and freedom; when *her root extended from continent to continent, and the dew of the two hemispheres watered her branches*—then indeed we allowed with less danger, but never with justice, that she might have made sacrifices to the claims of the Irish.

BOROUGH INFLUENCE.

" The king had another instrument more subtle and more pliable than the sword, and against the liberty of the subject more cold and deadly; a court instrument that murders freedom without the mark of blood—palls itself in the covering of the constitution, and in her own colours, and in her name, plants the dagger—a borough parliament.

BOROUGH-MONGERS.

"It is well known that the price of boroughs is from fourteen to sixteen thousand pounds, and has in the course of not many years, increased one third; a proof at once of the extravagance and audacity of this abuse, which thus looks to immortality, and proceeds unawed by the times, and uninstructed by example, and in moments which are held alarming entertains no fear, conceives no panic, and feels no remorse which prevents the chapman and dealer from going on at any risk with his villainous little barter, in the very rockings and frownings of the elements, and makes him tremble indeed at liberty, but not at crimes.

CORRUPTION.

"Make your people honest, says the court—make your court honest, say the people; it is the higher classes that introduce corruption—thieving may be learned from poverty; but corruption is learned from riches. It is a venal court that makes a venal country—that vice descends from above. The peasant does not go to the castle for the bribe, but the castle candidate goes to the peasant, and the castle candidate offers the bribe to the peasant, because he expects, in a much greater bribe, to be repaid by the minister; thus things go on; 'tis impossible they can last.

BRIBERY AND TERROR.

"The laws did in my judgement afford the crown sufficient power to administer the country, and preserve the connection with Great Britain; but our ministers have despised the ordinary track, and plain, obvious, legitimate, and vulgar bonds between the king and the subject; they have resorted to the guinea and the gallows, as to the only true and faithful friends of government, and try to hang when they can't compel; they have extended the venal stipendary principle to all constituted authorities; they have given the taint to the grave corporator as well as the senator, and have gone into the halls and streets to communicate the evil to the middling and ordinary part of society.

REFORM.

"In that American contest we saw that reform which had been born in England, and banished to America, advance, like the shepherd lad in holy writ, and overthrow Goliath. He returned riding on the wave of the Atlantic, and his spirit moved on the waters of Europe.

SELF-LEGISLATION.

"Self-legislation is life, and has been fought for as for being. It was that principle that called

forth resistance to the House of Stuart, and baptized with royalty the House of Hanover, when the people stood sponsors for their allegiance to the liberty of the subjects; for kings are but satellites, and your freedom is the luminary that has called them to the skies; but your fatal compliances (speaking of the then parliament) have caused a succession of measures which have collected upon us such an accumulation of calamity, and which have finally, at an immense expence, and through a sea of blood, stranded these kingdoms on a solitary shore, naked of empire, naked of liberty, and bereft of innocence, to ponder on an abyss which has swallowed up one part of their fortunes, and yawns for the remainder."

He thus finely portrays some of the great political characters of Ireland.

MR. FLOOD.

" Mr. Flood, my rival, as the pamphlet calls him—and I should be unworthy the character of his rival, if in his grave I did not do him justice—he had his faults, but he had great powers, great public effect; he persuaded the old, inspired the young; the castle vanished before him; on a small subject he was miserable; put into his hands a distaff, and like Hercules, he made sad work of it, but give him the thunderbolt, and he had the arm of a Jupiter; he misjudged when he transferred himself to the English parliament; he forgot that

he was a tree of the forest, too old and too great to be transplanted at fifty; and his seat in the British parliament is a caution to the friends of union to stay at home, and make the country of their birth the seat of their action.

MR. BURGH,

Afterward Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

“ Mr. Burgh, another great person in those scenes, which it is not in the little guile of this author to depreciate. He was a man singularly gifted—with great talent, great variety, wit, oratory, and logic; he too had his weakness; but he had the pride of genius also; he strove to raise his country along with himself, and never sought to build his elevation on the degradation of Ireland.

“ I moved an amendment for a free export; he moved a better amendment, and he lost his place; I moved a declaration of right: ‘ With my last breath will I support the right of the Irish Parliament,’ was his note to me, when I applied to him for his support; he lost the chance of recovering his place, and his way to the seals, for which he might have bartered. The gates of promotion were shut on him, as those of glory opened.

EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

" In the list of injured characters, I beg leave to say a few words for the good and gracious Earl of Charlemont ; an attack not only on his measures, but on his representative, makes his vindication seasonable ; formed to unite aristocracy and the people, with the manners of a court, and the principles of a patriot ; with the flame of liberty and the love of order, unassailable to the approaches of power, of profit, or of titles, he annexed to the love of freedom a veneration for order, and cast on the crowd that followed him the *gracious shade of his own accomplishments* : so that the very rabble grew civilized as it approached his person ; for years did he preside over a great army without pay or reward, and he helped to accomplish a great revolution, without a drop of blood.

" Let slaves utter their slander, and bark at glory which is conferred by the people ; his name will stand ; and when his clay shall be gathered in the dirt to which it belongs, his monument, whether in marble, or in the hearts of his countrymen, shall be consulted as a *subject of sorrow, and a source of virtue*.

NATIONAL EXPENDITURE.

" See the chart of your credit, an evanescent speck just rising above the plane of the horizon,

and then it drops ; while your debt ascends like a pyramid, with an audacious defalcation, and almost culminates in your meridian. Midway of this mountain of debt, you will discern a line, marking your effort to put an end to the practice of running in debt."

In a debate upon the non-responsibility of Irish ministers, Mr. Grattan, in the course of a very eloquent speech, thus laconically assigned the reason why Ireland had been plagued with corrupt and unworthy ministers :—" Sir," said he, " you have in Ireland no axe ; therefore no good minister."

The last and concluding topic now remains to be touched upon, viz. the manners and customs of the Irish people. This would afford a fruitful source of inquiry, if followed through all its branches ; but they who wish for a minute description, cannot do better than consult the writings of Miss Edgeworth, especially her *Castle Rackrent*, for they exhibit a genuine, and, at the same time, an amusing picture, especially of the lower and middling classes. The manners of the superior classes in Ireland very nearly approach the English standard, except that excess in wine prevails rather more in the sister country. The Irish gentry are not much addicted to literature, or the fine arts ; but amuse themselves with hunting, and other robust exercises. Hence an overflow of

health and spirits, and the observation of an able writer, that Ireland produces the stoutest men, and the finest women in Europe, must not be confined to the inferior classes. The manners of the middle class are, however, very different from those of the English; and an intelligent observer (Dr. Crumpe) thus describes them:—"This class," says he, "is principally composed of men of small estates, who generally live beyond their income; and those *landholders*, known by the name of *middle men*, who take large districts of the country from those possessed of extensive estates, and either cover them with black cattle and sheep, or re-let them at extravagant rents to wretched and indigent cottagers. The general characteristics of this class are idleness, dissipation, and vanity. Every man with a few acres of land; and a moderate revenue, is dignified as a matter of course with the title of esquire, and be his family ever so numerous, the incumbrances on his little property, ever so considerable, he must support a pack of hounds, entertain with claret, or, if not able, with whiskey, keep a post-chaise and livery-servants, and ape, in short, his superiors in every respect. Meanwhile his debts are increasing, his creditors growing clamorous, and every industrious occupation which might relieve his distresses neglected, as utterly beneath the dignity of a gentleman. To the same source are we to trace those nuisances to every rank of society, denominated *bucks* and *backeens*. Such in general are either the eldest

sons of gentlemen of small property, or the younger children of those of larger, who have received their scanty pittance, of which the augmentation by industrious means is never once attempted, and the final dissipation, one would imagine, deemed impossible. To stand behind a counter, superintend a farm, or calculate in a counting-house, would be beneath the dignity of such exalted beings, and disgrace the memory of their gentlemen-ancestors. To the same general aversion to industry, and tendency to dissipation, and to a considerable share of family vanity, are we to ascribe the silly but more excuseable propensity of gentlemen to educate their children in gentlemanly professions. Hence arise the daily increasing number of curates with scanty salaries, or none, attorneys preying on the public, ensigns without the means of rising higher, physicians without patients, and lawyers without briefs."

With respect to the lower classes, there are two leading and naturally allied features in their character; idleness and inquisitiveness, especially when hired and employed to perform the work of others. The moment an overseer quits them, they invariably drop their work, take snuff, and fall into chat as to the news of the day: no traveller can pass them without diverting their attention from the business in hand, and giving rise to numerous surmises as to his person, errand, and destination. A tendency to pilfering and theft is very predominant among them, and connected with

this, is the prevalence of low cunning and lying; and, as their accompaniment may be mentioned, a fawning flattery. Drunkenness is an evil of considerable magnitude in the catalogue of national vices. The lower Irish are peculiarly addicted to it. Hence they are riotous, and Irish fairs are commonly scenes of confusion, disturbance, and bloodshed. They are also, to a remarkable degree, lawlessly inclined. Instead of being anxious to apprehend offenders, or to assist the execution of the law, they are, in general, ready to give the former every assistance to escape, and to resist the latter, unless awed by superior force.

These are the dark shades of the Irish character. The bright ones are hospitality, generosity, courage, ardour, and a peculiar shrewdness of intellect. Their virtues are their own; their vices spring from the defective political system under which they live. Improve that, and you improve the nation: pluck from the Irish shamrock a few weeds, and you leave it as beautiful a flower as nature ever created. "Every unprejudiced traveller," says Young, "who visits Ireland, will be as much pleased with the cheerfulness, as obliged by the hospitality of the inhabitants, and will find them a brave, polite, liberal, and ingenious people." The courage of the Irish has indeed been ever esteemed by foreign nations, who know how to take advantage of the bad policy of the English government. Whole regiments were formed under the name of Irish brigades, and the siege of Cre-

mona was not the only event in which Irish bravery was conspicuous. Instead, however, of strengthening our enemies, the Irish now serve in the British fleets and armies, and have had their share in the glorious victories which have sustained the dignity and independence of the empire. Our great military chief, Lord Wellington, is an Irishman, who, at the moment of writing this, is leading his valorous and triumphant bands into the territory of France. It would require indeed an ample space to record all the noble deeds of Irishmen in the field of battle.

We cannot do better than contrast with this account of the Irish character, the following philosophical appreciation of it, by a writer to whose labours we have already been indebted: we mean the anonymous author of "*A Sketch of the State of Ireland past and present.*"

"Ireland—and in a greater degree than other countries—has feelings that must be flattered; and prejudices and habits, that, to be conquered, must be soothed. She must not be stretched on the Proconstan bed, and lopped or lengthened to an iron scale. Those that legislate for her should know her, and their system should be elastic and accommodating.

"Thus impressed, I trace the outline of our manners freely, and, if I can, truly.

"Its popular character and customs distinguish and disincline Ireland from England. Varieties have been sought in the national disposition,

referable to the double origin of the people, in vain; however differing in rank, party, or ancestry, they bear the indelible mark of a common nativity. Restless, yet indolent; shrewd, and indiscreet; impetuous, impatient, and improvident; instinctively brave, thoughtlessly generous; quick to resent and forgive offences, to form and renounce friendships, they will forgive injury rather than insult; their country's good they seldom, their own they carelessly, pursue; but the honour of both they eagerly vindicate; oppression they have long borne, insolence never.

" With genius they are profusely gifted, with judgment sparingly; to acquire knowledge, they find more easy than to arrange and employ it; inferior in vanity only to the French, and in wit superior even to the Italian, they are more able to give, and more ready to receive, amusement than instruction; in raillery and adulation they freely indulge, and without malignity or baseness. It is the singular temper of this people, that they are prone equally to satirize and to praise, and patient alike of sarcasm and flattery.

" Inclining to exaggerate, but not intending to deceive, you will applaud them rather for sincerity than truth. Accuracy is not the merit, nor duplicity the failing, of a lively but neglected and uncultivated people. Their passions lie on the surface, unsheltered from irritation or notice; and cautious England is glad to recognize the Irish character only by these inconsistencies and errors,

which her own novercal government has produced or perpetuated.

“ In their domestic life, the gentry and traders differ from the English of equal rank, not in essentials, but in modes. Here are less neatness and economy, more enjoyment and society: emulative profusion is an Irish folly. The gentry would rival the nobility; the merchant affects to surpass, and the shopkeeper to approach, the splendor of the gentry. Hence patrimonies are dilapidated; hence capital is diverted from business to pleasure; the profit of one enterprize is not, as in England, embarked in another, but sunk in a villa, or an equipage. The English trader bequeaths, the Irish enjoys; but his enjoyment is not often elegant, nor always secure.

“ The nobility and affluent gentry spend much or all of their fortunes and time in England; leaving their places to be filled, in the country, by hired agents—in the city, by a plebeian aristocracy: the former solely engaged in increasing and collecting rents, can have little conciliatory power with the people; but the influence of the latter tends rather to increase than diminish the political danger.

“ A great evil. Not because the country is drained by remittance, but because she is widowed of her natural protectors. The loss is not of money, but manners; not of wealth, but of civilization and peace.

“ The condition of the peasant was of late utterly, and is still almost, barbarous. What the Romans found the Britons and Germans, the Britons found the Irish—and left them: neglect or degeneracy of the colonists, and obstinacy of the natives, have preserved even to our day living proofs of the veracity of Cæsar and Tacitus: of this, many will affect to be incredulous—of the Irish, lest it diminish the character of their country—of the English, because it arraigns the wisdom and policy of their system. But the experienced know it to be true, and the impartial will own it.

“ The cultivator of the land seldom holds from the inheritor; between them stand a series of sub-landlords and tenants, each receiving a profit from his lessee, but having no further interest or connexion with the soil. The last in the series must provide for the profits of all—he therefore parcels out, at rack-rents, the land to his miserable tenant. Here is no yeomanry, no agricultural capitalist; no degree between the landlord and the labourer; the words ‘peasantry’ and ‘poor’ synonymously employed.

“ Their dwellings are of primitive and easy construction—the walls and floors of clay, the roofs of sod or thatch: within, are two unequal divisions; in the smaller, filthy and unfurnished, you would hardly suppose the whole family to sleep; in the larger, on a hearth, without grate

or chimney, a scanty fire warms rather by its smoke than its blaze, and discolours whatever it warms. Glazed windows there are none, the open doors amply sufficing for light and air, to those that are careless of either. Furniture they neither have, nor want; their food and its preparation are simple—potatoes or oaten cakes, sour milk, and sometimes salted fish. In drink they are not so temperate; of all spirituous liquors they are immoderately fond, but most of whiskey, the distilled extract of fermented corn. In many districts, by an ingenious and simple process, they prepare this liquor themselves, but clandestinely, and to the great injury of national morals and revenue. Were they allowed, by private distillation, to indulge their taste for inebriety, their own vice would more effectually subdue them than centuries of war.

“ Their dress is mean and squalid, particularly of the females, whom you would not always distinguish from men by their attire. Of personal cleanliness they have no care. Both sexes wear, in winter and summer, long woollen coats, or cloaks, derived from, and similar to, the sagum of their ancestors. The children are generally half, and sometimes altogether naked; living, without distinction of sexes, in dirt and mire, almost with the cattle. Yet from this nakedness and filth, they grow up to that strength and stature for which they are admirable.

“ The peasantry of Ireland are generally of the Roman catholic religion, but utterly and disgracefully ignorant ; few among them can read, fewer write. The Irish language, a barbarous jargon, is generally, and in some districts exclusively, spoken ; and with it are retained customs and superstitions as barbarous. Popish legends and pagan tradition are confounded and revered : for certain holy wells, and sacred places, they have extraordinary respect ; thither crowd the sick for cure, and the sinful for expiation ; and their priests, deluded or deluding, enjoin those pilgrimages as penance, or applaud them, when voluntary, as piety. The religion of such a people is not to be confounded with one of the same name professed by the enlightened nations of Europe. The university of Paris has some tenets in common, perhaps, with the Irish papist ; but does it believe that water restores the cripple, enlightens the blind or purifies the guilty ?

“ In agricultural pursuits they are neither active nor expert : hereditary indolence would induce them to employ their lands in pasturage ; and it is often more easy to induce them to take arms, for their country, or against it, than to cultivate the earth, and wait upon the seasons. Even at this day, the sons of the old inheritors are suspected of being more ready to regain their possessions by their blood, than by their labour. Their very amusements are polemical : fighting is a pas-

time, which they seldom assemble without enjoying; not, indeed, with iron weapons, but with clubs, which they always carry, and frequently and skilfully use. When not driven by necessity to labour, they willingly consume whole days in sloth, or as willingly employ them in riot; strange diversity of nature! to love indolence, and hate quiet—to be reduced to slavery, but not yet to obedience.

“Who will call this people civilized, or wonder that they are turbulent? who confide in the empiric promising to cure so complicated a disorder by a single specific? It is but too plain, that there is something to be lamented; and, if possible, changed, in the character of the nation—much in its habits—more in the accidental circumstances in which it languishes; and it is also evident, that no individual remedy can reach and reform evils so heterogeneous. Party indeed is blind, and ignorance adventurous; but when the state of Ireland is hereafter discussed in the imperial senate, we trust that few may be found of the prejudiced, and none of the ignorant.”

In passing through Ireland, a stranger will be struck by the crowds that attend funerals, and by the cries of the mourners, though these are less frequent than they used to be. The diet of the peasantry consists chiefly of potatoes and milk, which is found to be very wholesome and nourishing; and their habitations, especially in the south, are often only wretched hovels of mud. Fine

healthy children run out in a state of nature to gaze upon the passing stranger. The amusements of the upper classes are similar to those of the same rank in England; but those of the common people offer many shades of discrimination; for instance, the wake that precedes a funeral is a grand source of joy and amusement. These discrepancies, however, do not deteriorate, they only diversify; and Ireland takes her stand by the side of her elder sister, with all the dignified pride of conscious equality and acknowledged desert. They are now *united*; and may the description of the Latin bard, in reference to a different sort of union, be true of this:—

Felices ter et amplius
Quos irrupta tenet copula, nec malis
Divulsus querimoniis
Suprema citius solvet amor die.

HOR. i. Od. 13.

APPENDIX

TO

VOL. II.

No. I.

Extract from Mr. Curran's Speech on Pensions.

“ THIS polyglot of wealth, this museum of curiosities, the pension list, embraces every link in the human chain, every description of men, women and children, from the exalted excellence of a Hawke or a Rodney, to the debased situation of the lady who humbleth herself that she may be exalted. But the lessons it inculcates forms its greater perfection :—it teaches, that sloth and vice may eat that bread which virtue and honesty may starve for after they have earned it. It teaches the idle and dissolute to look up for that support which they are too proud to stoop and earn. It directs the minds of men to an entire reliance on the ruling power of the state, who feeds the ravens of the royal aviary, that cry continually for food. It teaches them to imitate those saints on the pension list, that are like the lilies of the field—they toil not, neither do they spin, and yet are arrayed like Solomon in his glory. In fine, it teaches a lesson which indeed they might have learned from Epictetus—that it is sometimes good

not to be over virtuous: it shews that in proportion as our distresses increase, the munificence of the crown increases also—in proportion as our clothes are rent, the royal mantle is extended over us.

“ BUT, notwithstanding the pension list, like charity, covers a multitude of sins, give me leave to consider it as coming home to the members of this house—give me leave to say, that the crown in extending is charity, its liberality, its profusion, is laying a foundation for the independence of parliament; for hereafter, instead of orators or patriots accounting for their conduct to such mean and unworthy persons as free-holders, they will learn to despise them, and look to the first man in the state, and they will by so doing have this security for their independence, that while any man in the kingdom has a shilling they will not want one.

“ SUPPOSE at any future period of time the boroughs of Ireland should decline from their present flourishing and prosperous state—suppose they should fall into the hands of persons who should wish to drive a profitable commerce, by having members of parliament to hire or let; in such a case a secretary would find great difficulty if the proprietors of members should enter into a combination to form a monopoly; to prevent which in time, the wisest way is to purchase up the raw material, young members of parliament just rough from grass, and when they are a little bitted, and he has got a pretty stud, perhaps of seventy, he may laugh at the slave-merchant; some of them he may teach to sound through the nose, like a barrel organ; some, in the course of a few months, might be taught to cry hear! hear! some, chair! chair! upon occasion, though, those latter might create a little confusion, if they were to forget whether they were calling inside or outside of those doors. Again, he might have some so trained that he need only pull a string, and up gets a repeating member; and if they were

so dull that they could neither speak or make orations, (for they are different things) he might have them taught, to dance, *pedibus ire in sententia*.—This improvement might be extended; he might have them dressed in coats and shirts all of one colour, and of a Sunday he might march them to church two by two, to the great edification of the people and the honour of the christian religion; afterwards, like the ancient Spartans, or the fraternity at Kilmainham, they might dine all together in a large hall. Good heaven! what a sight to see them feeding in public upon public viands, and talking of public subjects for the benefit of the public. It is a pity they are not immortal; but I hope they will flourish as a corporation, and that pensioners will beget pensioners to the end of the chapter.”

No. II.

MR. PITT'S LETTER TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.

“SIR,

The proceedings in parliament being now brought to a point, which will render it necessary to propose to the house of commons, the particular measures to be taken for supplying the defects of the personal exercise of the royal authority, during the present interval, and your royal highness having some time since signified your pleasure, that any communications on this subject should be in writing, I take the liberty of respectfully entreating your royal highness's permission, to submit to your consideration the outlines of the plan, which his majesty's confidential servants humbly conceive

(according to the best judgment they are able to form) to be proper to be proposed in the present circumstances.

" It is their humble opinion, that your royal highness should be empowered to exercise the royal authority, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty during his majesty's illness, and to do all acts which might legally be done by his majesty; with provisions, nevertheless, that the care of his majesty's royal person, and the management of his majesty's household, and the direction and appointment of the officers and servants therein, should be in the queen, under such regulations, as may be thought necessary. That the power to be exercised by your royal highness should not extend to the granting the real or personal property of the king, (except as far as relates to the renewal of leases,) to the granting any office in reversion, or to the granting, for any other term than during his majesty's pleasure, any pension, or any office whatever, except such as must by law be granted for life, or during good behaviour; nor to the granting any rank or dignity of the peerage of this realm, to any person except his majesty's issue, who shall have attained the age of 21 years.

" These are the chief points which have occurred to his majesty's servants. I beg leave to add, that our ideas are formed on the supposition, that his majesty's illness is only temporary, and may be of no long duration. It may be difficult to fix before hand the precise period, for which these provisions ought to last; but if unfortunately his majesty's recovery should be protracted to a more distant period, than there is reason at present to imagine, it will be open hereafter to the wisdom of parliament, to reconsider these provisions whenever the circumstances appear to call for it.

" If your royal highness should be pleased to require farther explanation on this subject, and should condescend

to signify your orders, that I should have the honour of attending your royal highness for that purpose, or to intimate any other mode, in which your royal highness may wish to receive such explanation, I shall respectfully wait your royal highness's commands.

" I have the honour to be

" With the utmost deference and submission

" Sir,

" Your royal highness's

" Most dutiful and devoted servant

Downing Street, Tuesday Night,

" W. PITT."

December 30, 1788.

To this letter his royal highness wrote the following answer, which he delivered to the lord chancellor, January 1, 1789.

" The Prince of Wales learns from Mr. Pitt's letter, that the proceedings in parliament are now in a train, which enables Mr. Pitt, according to the intimation in his former letter, to communicate to the prince the outlines of the plan, which his majesty's confidential servants conceive to be proper to be proposed in the present circumstances.

" Concerning the steps already taken by Mr. Pitt, the Prince is silent; nothing done by the two houses of parliament can be a proper subject of his animadversion; but when previously to any discussion in parliament, the outline of a scheme of government are sent for his consideration, in which it is proposed, that he shall be personally and principally concerned, and by which the royal authority, and the public welfare may be deeply affected, the prince would be unjustifiable, were he to withhold an explicit declaration of his sentiments. His silence might be construed into a

previous approbation of a plan, the accomplishment of which every motive of his duty to his father and sovereign, as well as of regard for the public interests, obliges him, to consider as injurious to both.

“ In the state of deep distress, in which the prince and the whole royal family were involved by the heavy calamity which has fallen upon the king, and at a moment when government deprived of its chief energy and support, seemed peculiarly to need the cordial and united aid of all descriptions of good subjects, it was not expected by the prince, that a plan should be offered to his consideration, by which government was to be rendered difficult, if not impracticable, in the hands of any person intended to represent the king's authority, much less in the hands of his eldest son, the heir apparent of his kingdoms, and the person most bound to the maintenance of his majesty's just prerogatives and authority, as well as most interested in the happiness, the prosperity, and the glory of the people.

“ The prince forbears to remark on the several parts of the sketch of the plan laid before him; he apprehends it must have been formed with sufficient deliberation to preclude the probability of any argument of his producing any alteration of sentiment in the projectors of it. But he trusts, with confidence, to the wisdom and justice of parliament when the whole of this subject, and the circumstances connected with it, shall come under their deliberation.

“ He observes, therefore, only generally on the heads communicated by Mr. Pitt, and it is with deep regret the prince makes the observation, that he sees in the contents of that paper, a project for producing weakness, disorder, and insecurity in every branch of the administration of affairs. A project for dividing the royal family from each other, for separating the court from the state; and therefore, by disjoining government from its natural and accustomed support, a scheme for disconnecting the authority to command

service, from the power of animating it by reward; and for allotting to the prince all the invidious duties of government, without the means of softening them to the public by any one act of grace, favour or benignity.

“ The prince’s feelings on contemplating this plan are also still more painful to him by observing, that it is not founded on any general principle, but is calculated to infuse jealousies and suspicions (wholly groundless he trusts) in that quarter, whose confidence it will ever be the first pride of his life to merit and obtain.

“ With regard to the motive and object of the limitations and restrictions proposed, the prince can have but little to observe. No light or information is offered him by his majesty’s ministers on these points. They have informed him what the powers are, which they mean to refuse him, not why they are withheld.

“ The prince, however, holding as he does, that it is an undoubted and fundamental principle of this constitution, that the powers and prerogatives of the crown are vested there, as a trust for the benefit of the people; and that they are sacred only, as they are necessary to the preservation of that poise and balance of the constitution, which experience has proved to be the true security of the liberty of the subject, must be allowed to observe, that the plea of public utility ought to be strong, manifest, and urgent, which calls for the extinction or suspension of any one of those essential rights in the supreme power or its representative; or which can justify the prince in consenting, that in his person an experiment shall be made, to ascertain with how small a portion of the kingly power the executive government of this country may be carried on.

“ The prince has only to add, that if security for his majesty’s repossessing his rightful government, whenever it shall please Providence, in bounty to the country, to remove the calamity with which he is afflicted, any part of

the object of this plan, the prince has only to be convinced, that any measure is necessary, or even conducive to that end, to be the first to urge it, as the preliminary and paramount consideration of any settlement, in which he would consent to share.

" If attention to what is presumed might be his majesty's feelings and wishes on the happy day of his recovery, be the object, it is with the truest sincerity the prince expresses his firm conviction, that no event would be more repugnant to the feelings of his royal father, than the knowledge that the government of his son and representative had exhibited the sovereign power of the realm in a state of degradation, of curtailed authority and diminished energy; a state hurtful in practice to the prosperity and good government of his people, and injurious in its precedents to the security of the monarch, and the rights of his family.

" Upon that part of the plan, which regards the king's real and personal property, the prince feels himself compelled to remark, that it was not necessary for Mr. Pitt, nor proper to suggest to the prince, the restraint he proposes against the prince's granting away the king's real and personal property. The prince does not conceive, that during the king's life, he is by law entitled to make any such grant; and he is sure, that he has never shewn the smallest inclination to possess any such power. But it remains with Mr. Pitt, to consider the eventual interests of the royal family, and to provide a proper and natural security against the mismanagement of them by others.

" The prince has discharged an indispensable duty, in thus giving his free opinion on the plan submitted to his consideration.

" His conviction of the evils, which may arise to the king's interests, to the peace and happiness of the royal family, and to the safety and welfare of the nation, from the government of the country remaining longer in its

present maimed and debilitated state, outweighs in the prince's mind every other consideration, and will determine him to undertake the painful trust imposed upon him by the present melancholy necessity (which of all the king's subjects he deplores the most) in full confidence that the affection and loyalty to the king, the experienced attachment to the House of Brunswick, and the generosity which has always distinguished this nation, will carry him through the many difficulties, inseparable from this most critical situation, with comfort to himself, with honour to the king, and with advantage to the public.

(Signed)

G. P.

Carlton House,
Jan. 2, 1789.

No. III.

*To his Royal Highness George Prince of Wales,
The humble Address of the Lords spiritual and temporal,
and Commons in Parliament assembled.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

We, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of Ireland in parliament assembled, beg leave to approach your royal highness with hearts full of the most loyal and affectionate attachment to the person and government of your royal father; to express the deepest and most grateful sense of the numerous blessings which we have enjoyed under that illustrious house, whose accession to the throne of these realms has established civil and constitutional liberty, upon a basis which we trust will never be shaken; and at the

same time to condole with your royal highness upon the grievous malady with which it has pleased Heaven to afflict the best of sovereigns.

"We have, however the consolation of reflecting, that this severe calamity hath not been visited upon us until the virtues of your royal highness have been so matured, as to enable your royal highness to discharge the duties of an important trust, for the performance, whereof, the eyes of all his majesty's subjects of both kingdoms are directed to your royal highness."

"We therefore beg leave humbly to request, that your royal highness will be pleased to take upon you the government of this realm, during the continuation of his majesty's present indisposition, and no longer; and under the stile and title of Prince Regent of Ireland, in the name of, and on behalf of his majesty, to exercise and administer according to the laws and constitution of this kingdom, all regal powers, jurisdiction, and prerogatives to the crown and government thereof belonging."

No. IV.

The following was the answer of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

"The Address from the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons of Ireland, which you have presented to me, demands my warmest and earliest thanks. If any thing could add to the esteem and affection I have for the people of Ireland, it would be the loyal and affectionate attach-

ment to the person and government of the king my father, manifested in the address of the two houses.

"What they have done, and their manner of doing it, is a new proof of their undiminished duty to his majesty, of their uniform attachment to the House of Brunswick, and their constant wish to maintain inviolate the concord and connection between the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, so indispensably necessary to the prosperity, the happiness, and the liberties of both.

"If, in conveying my grateful sentiments on their conduct, in relation to the king my father, and to the inseparable interests of the two kingdoms, I find it impossible to express adequately my feelings on what relates to myself, I trust you will not be the less disposed to believe, that I have an understanding to comprehend the value of what they have done, a heart that must remember, and principles that will not suffer me to abuse their confidence.

"But the fortunate change which has taken place in the circumstance, which gave occasion to the Address, agreed to by the Lords and Commons of Ireland, induces me to delay, for a few days, giving a *final answer*; trusting, that the joyful event of his majesty resuming the personal exercise of his royal authority, may then render it only necessary for me to repeat those sentiments of gratitude and affection to the loyal and generous people of Ireland, which I feel indelibly imprinted on my heart."

Soon after the above answer was given by the Prince of Wales to the commissioners, delegated by the Lords and Commons of Ireland. His majesty was restored to the prayers and wishes of a loyal and affectionate people. The Irish commissioners were again requested to wait on his royal highness, who addressed them in the following terms, equally honourable to his heart and to his head; displaying, with equal happiness, his gratitude to Ireland, and his filial piety to his royal father;

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“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ The happy event of the king's recovery, and the consequent re-assumption of the exercise of his auspicious government, announced by his royal commission, for declaring the further causes of holding the parliament of Great Britain, has done away the melancholy necessity which gave rise to the arrangement proposed by the parliament of Ireland; nothing can *obliterate* from my memory, and my gratitude, the principles upon which that arrangement was made, and the circumstances by which it was attended; I consider your kindness to his majesty's royal family and the provision you made for preserving the authority of the crown, in its constitutional energy, as the most unequivocal proof which could be given of your affectionate loyalty to the king at this time, when by an afflicting dispensation of Providence, his government has suffered an intermission, and his house was deprived of its natural protector.

“ I shall not pay so ill a compliment to the lords and commons of Ireland, as to suppose that they were mistaken in their reliance on the moderation of my views, and the purity of my intentions—A manly confidence directing, the manner of proceeding towards those who entertain sentiments becoming the higher situation to which they are born—furnishes the most powerful motives to the performance of their duty—at the same time that the liberality of sentiment which, in conveying a trust, confers an honour, can have no tendency to relax that provident vigilance, and that public jealousy which ought to watch over the exercise of power.”

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ Though full of joy for the event which enables me to take leave of you in this manner, personally, I cannot but

regret your departure. I have had an opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of your private characters, and it has added to the high esteem which I had before entertained for you, on account of your public merits; both houses made you the worthy representatives of the great bodies to which you belong. I am confident that I need not add my earnest recommendation to the parliament and people of Ireland, to continue the harmony of the two kingdoms, which in their *mutual perfect freedom* will find the closest as well as happiest bond of their connection.

No. V.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE FORMATION OF THE WHIG CLUB.

“ It consisted of the leading members of opposition, in both houses of parliament, with the addition of many gentlemen who were not in parliament, nor belonged to any party, except that of the constitution. To this description of men there were some exceptions, which I shall take no notice of hereafter. Unlimited has been the abuse and misrepresentation of this society, as if it were a species of monster, engendered by faction, any thing like to which the state had never before seen. The truth is, that many political societies, not unlike this in some respects, but with different appellations, and more miscellaneous in their construction, had from time to time, been set up, and gradually died away, in Ireland. Not ten years before, a political association of several of the nobility and gentry had taken place, under the auspices of that great lawyer,

Lord Avonmore, then Mr. Velverton. This association was distinguished by the name of the Monks of St. Patrick; many of the original members of the Whig Club, Lord Charlemont, Mr. Grattan, and others, formerly belonged to this association. Mr. Daly, Lord Chief Baron Burgh, Mr. Ogle, were all members. Both societies were formed in times very interesting to the welfare of Ireland, and their general object was a co-operation of men who held, or professed at least to hold, a general similarity of political principles, and resolved to maintain the rights and constitution of their country. At the time of the formation of the Whig Club, the Monks of St. Patrick had, as a body, ceased to exist. When they first assembled in 1779, the demand of a free trade for Ireland had been made, and, in the course of that session, wisely complied with. Mr. Grattan's celebrated speech and motion for a declaration of rights followed in 1780; and in the year 1782 that motion also was at last, as already stated, and with a change of ministry, entirely successful.

"How long after the splendid era of 1782 the monks of St. Patrick continued their meetings I know not, nor is it at all necessary to ascertain. I have traced their progress so far, merely to shew that societies like this seldom survive, for any time at least, the questions for the entertainment of which, or rather during the discussion of which, they originally came together. A weak government is always uneasy; but a wise one has no occasion to be troubled about them. The good sense and good principles of the founders of such societies are certainly the best safeguards which any ministry can have, independent of their own wise conduct; for it is only the nonsense or pertinacity of ministers, on points which ought to be conceded, that can give them longevity; or, should they even pass the limits which they originally prescribed to themselves, and rise into faction, a sound and constitutional administration may laugh them to scorn.

It may however in general be said, that if they continue at all, after the completion of their objects, or after some particular and interesting period has passed away, they cease to be political, and sink into select convivial parties. In England such societies have always existed, and woe be to its liberties if that day ever arrives that should witness their extinction. To the great Whig Association in Queen Anne's time, generally known by the name of the Kit Kat Club, Lord Bolingbroke endeavoured to oppose another, and, in point of rank and talents, a very splendid association *. A third society then started up, more decidedly hostile to the Whigs, if that could be, than the ministers, and differing from the latter in some respects, because they thought them not violent enough. This was the October Club. All were produced by the spirit of the times, and with that spirit did they subside.

"The violent outcry which was raised, and the misinformation which has taken place with regard to this Whig Club, established chiefly by Lord Charlemont, makes it necessary for me to pursue this subject somewhat further than I originally intended. What were the principal objects of the Whig Association in England, as it stood in 1712, the preservation of the English constitution, and the succession of the house of Hanover; both of which, during the administration of Lords Orford and Bolingbroke, they considered as in peculiar danger. Numberless were the

* "See his Letter to the Earl of Orrery, June 12th, 1711. The prudence with which this celebrated and dissipated statesman mentions the institution he was then forming is remarkable. "The first regulation proposed, and that which must be inviolably kept, is decency." None of the extravagance of the Kit Kat, none of the drunkenness of the Beef Steak, is to be endured. The improvement of friendship, and the encouragement of letters, are to be the two great ends of our society, &c. &c." How scrupulously his lordship adhered to decorum, how cautious he was, *exactly* at this time too, of offending against propriety and good morals, may be seen in Swift's Journal to Stella.

pamphlets, and numberless were the speeches made against them for presuming even to breathe such an insinuation. They were factious, disrespectful to the sovereign, and only wished to get into place and power, from which they had been so lately discarded. So said their enemies. The younger members of that society, Mr. Walpole and Mr. Pulteney particularly, then in the prime of life, venerating, as did the association in general, the ministers of King William, Lord Somers especially, by whose aid the constitution of 1688 had been obtained, made *their* principles the standard of their own political faith. Now what says the first sentence of the declaration of the Whig Club in Iceland? 'Whereas, under the circumstances of our renovated constitution, we deem it necessary that a constant and unremitting watch should be kept against every step of encroachment upon those rights which have been lately re-established, and for the safety of which we cannot but apprehend more danger from an administration which has lately attempted to infringe them than we should from a ministry formed of those men under whose power, and with whose concurrence, they were originally restored to us, and whose principles which directed the lords and commons to address the Prince of Wales to take upon himself, during his royal father's indisposition, the administration of affairs, free from occasional or unconstitutional restrictions, such restrictions being more calculated to answer the views of ambition than to preserve liberty, or promote the solid interests of the empire; that the *great objects* of the society are the constitution of the realm, as settled by the Revolution in 1688, and the succession in the house of Brunswick; and that they will ever maintain, as *sacred* and *indissoluble*, the connection with Great Britain, being in their opinion indispensably necessary for the freedom of this kingdom in particular, and for the freedom, strength, and prosperity of the empire in general.' This is the outline.

"Mr. Burke considered, and justly, the establishment of 1782 as the true revolution of Ireland. If so, I confess I cannot see any reason why Lord Charlemont, and several Irish noblemen and gentlemen, should be blamed for displaying as much anxiety and fondness of that revolution in 1789, as was manifested by the English lords and gentlemen for their constitution in 1712. The latter apprehended more danger to their political rights from a Tory than a Whig administration. The former entertained like apprehensions from the existing ministry; and as the English Whigs looked with confidence to Lord Somers, and considered his principles as their own, the Irish Whigs rested with peculiar security on Mr. Fox and the Rockingham party, under whose power, and with whose aid, Irish freedom was established in 1782.

"The Kit Kat Club," says Horace, Lord Orford, "are usually regarded merely as a set of wits, but, in truth, they were the patriots to whom England owed the Hanover succession, and its own safety in 1714." Far be from me the presumption to place our Whig Association in a general line of comparison with that illustrious association of men, who, as long as the old English constitution is revered, as long as public principle is dear to us, as long as the most engaging accomplishments, and all the charms of the purest wit, maintain their accustomed power over our minds, must always be held in the most pleasing and grateful remembrance. They formed a union as rare as it was fortunate, of stations the most distant in society, without encroaching on the privileges of either. The Duke of Somerset considered it as no diminution of his dignity to be, in the unbended hours of such a company, the literary or convivial associates of Tonson. With the simplicity of English manners, they retained as much of the ancient institutions of chivalry as was suited to the more tranquil and polished age in which they lived. Though romance, with

all its splendored train, had long since vanished; fidelity to honourable engagements, and courtesy to the fair sex, were by the leading members of that association most scrupulously adhered to. They were patriots, they were gentlemen; they invoked the spirit of the constitution, but they invoked the spirit of the muse also; and whilst they preserved the former, they gave to the latter its most pleasing employment, the celebration of beauty, and the graces of the female character. The unceasing conquests of the Marlborough daughters were opposed, with an air of gay triumph, to the victories of their father, then in his utmost splendour; and it was with an agreeable extravagance, added in the language of poetry, that their eyes could alone restrain that freedom so recently established at the Revolution *. All this may be called trifling, but away with moroseness. If it is trifling, it softens and harmonizes the heart. Our politics are not always the most favourable to politeness, and he is a dreary personage indeed who can fastidiously listen to the praises of that sex which has often, in the midst of temptations, retained those most dear to them in the path of political honour, or, without any opportunity of displaying such heroism, added new charms to social life, and metamorphosed grave and formidable statesmen into obliging and agreeable companions. Yet, while I pay this tribute to them emory of departed worth and departed genius, it would be a miserable affectation of humility if I did not add, that in point of original talents, in useful or ornamental knowledge, some of the members of the Whig Club were not altogether distant from their celebrated predecessors. In attachment to true revolution principles and unfeigned admiration of the constitution, which arose with new lustre from such principles, no way their inferior. Were I not, perhaps idly, afraid that even the most sober pane-

* See the verses by some members of the Kit Kat Club, especially those by Lord Halifax and Mr. Manwaring.

gyric might be regarded as something like adulation, I could point to some living characters as sufficiently illustrative of my assertion; but surely on constitutional topics, on the varied subjects of polite literature, Lord Somers could have listened to Lord Charlemont with real satisfaction; Lord Burlington * would have found an architectural taste as chastened as his own, in a visit to Marino; and the witty, elegant, and, what is far more valuable, good-natured Lord Dorset, might have passed from a conversation on Titian or Vandyke, at Charlemont-house, to the enjoyment of humour as smiling as his own, or gay raillery as polished as Arthur Manwaring's, in the rooms appropriated to the more select members of the Whig Association. I have alluded to some misinformation with regard to their proceedings. It has been stated, that at the Whig Club "were planned and arranged all the measures for attack on the ministry. Each member had his measure or his question in turn. The plans of debate and manœuvre were preconcerted, and to each was assigned that share of the attack he was most competent to sustain †." The respectable author who wrote this was misinformed. Never, I beg leave to say, were there any plans of debate preconcerted, or any share of attack assigned to this or that member at the Whig Club. The meetings of opposition were, if not at Mr. Forbes's house, sometimes at Leinster and more frequently at Charlemont-house. But at none of these houses, much less in a club-room at a tavern, where, latterly, as is always the case, the company was more miscellaneous than could have been wished, did the members undergo this species of marshalling which Mr. Plowden has represented. The opposition must have had the gift

* Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington.

† "Who plants like Bathurst, or who builds like Boyle." *POPE*.

† See Mr. Plowden's History of Ireland.

of prescience, and have known the turn which every debate would take, the particular retort or reply that would be made, the perpetual wanderings from the subject in question, and the necessity, irregular as such deviations were, of sometimes taking notice of them; all this, and much more, must they have been acquainted with before they fixed a speaker in a station which he was invariably to support. No arrangement, therefore, of any question to be spoken to in parliament was ever made at this Whig meeting. Such a representation gives to it, what Mr. Plowden never intended, the air of a Jacobin club at Paris; an institution which it never resembled; an institution which Lord Charlemont and his friends held in the utmost abhorrence *. Some publications issued from the Whig Club, one especially, in consequence of a contest, in which government entangled itself with the city relative to the rights of the common-council to negative a lord-mayor chosen by the board of aldermen; but this question was before the privy-council, and never came before parliament. The question relative to the catholics, the most important of all, and most connected, not merely with the interests, but with the passions and prejudices of the people, was indeed brought before parliament, and that question the Whig club declined all discussion of. This, surely, was

* "The Kit Kat Club once exercised an authority over one of their members, which the Whig Club, I am satisfied, never would have thought of:—When Sir Richard Steele's expulsion from the house of commons was decided on by the opposite party, his friends at the Kit Kat insisted that he should not make his own speech, but such a one as should be dictated to him. Sir R. Walpole instantly spoke, as if in the house, in behalf of Steele, and made an admirable speech, according to Mr. Pulteney's account, who was present. Had the Whig Club, therefore, ever assumed the liberty of arranging any speeches or debates for the house of commons, it seems that it would not have been singular in doing so; and if there was any thing jacobinical, according to the modern phrase, in such a proceeding, it was a species of jacobinism that existed long ago."—See Bishop Newton Account of Lord Pemb.

not inflaming the people against the government, but rather, however unjustly, directing popular indignation towards the association itself. Let it be added here, that some of the subordinate resolutions of this society related to bills then proposed, and often rejected by parliament, such as the place bill, the bill for disqualifying revenue officers from voting at elections, the pension bill, &c. all which are now become the law of the land, though it was repeatedly asserted, in every debate relative to them, day after day, session after session, that they inevitably tended to the separation of this country from England, and would separate both countries in a very few years. Just as Chief Justice Whitshed solemnly assured a jury, and his auditors, that the sole object of the author of a proposal to wear Irish manufactures was to bring in the pretender.

"That some persons, few, very few indeed, were admitted into this society, and inconsiderately admitted, I freely acknowledge. But to fix any other charge on the Whig Association for the reception of such men than either a venial ignorance, or culpable facility and good-nature, it would be necessary to point out the paths of sedition and treason into which it was led by such obnoxious members; or, if you please, into which it led them. It has been said, and truly too, that in parties the tail too often impels the head. Was it so here? They never presumed to influence higher orders of that society. We might as well charge Addison with all the imputed profligacy of Lord Wharton, for both, at a particular period, acted with the same party, and in Ireland one was secretary, and the other viceroy, as attempt to fix an odious suspicion of disloyalty on any class or particular body of men on grounds so utterly untenable."

No. VI.

MR. PELHAM'S LETTER TO GENERAL LAKE, MARCH 3.

" SIR,

Dublin Castle, March 3, 1797.

" I am commanded by my lord-lieutenant to acquaint you, that, from the information received by his excellency with respect to various parts of the north of Ireland, additional measures to those hitherto employed for preserving the public peace are become necessary. It appears that in the counties of Down, Antrim, Tyrone, Derry, and Donegal, secret and treasonable associations still continue to an alarming degree, and that the persons concerned in these associations are attempting to defeat all the exertions of the loyal and well-disposed by the means of terror; that they threaten the lives of all who shall venture, from regard to their duty and oath of allegiance, to discover their treasons; that they assemble in great numbers at night, and by threats and force disarm the peaceable inhabitants; that they have fired on his majesty's justices of the peace when endeavouring to apprehend them in their nocturnal robberies; that they threaten, by papers, letters, and notices, the persons of those who shall, in any manner, resist or oppose them; that in their nightly excursions for the purpose of disarming his majesty's loyal subjects, they disguise their persons and countenances; that they endeavour to collect great quantities of arms in concealed hiding-places; that they have cut down great numbers of trees on the estates of the gentry, for the purpose of making pikes; that they have stolen great quantities of lead for the purpose of casting bullets; that they privately, by night, exercise in the practice of arms; that they endeavour to intimidate persons from joining the yeomanry corps established by law, in order to resist a foreign enemy; they refuse to

employ as manufacturers those who enlist in the corps; that they not only threaten but ill-treat the persons of the yeomanry, and even attack their houses by night, and proceed to the barbarous extremity of deliberate and shocking murder, as was exemplified in their attack and murder, by night, of Mr. Comyns, of Newtownards; and that they profess a resolution to assist the enemies of his majesty, if they should be enabled to land in this kingdom. It further appears, that these disturbances and outrages exist, and even increase, as well in the districts which have been proclaimed, as in other parts of the country. In order, therefore, to reduce the persons engaged in the aforesaid treasonable associations, and guilty of the said atrocious outrages, to the subordination of the laws, and to give confidence to the well-disposed among his majesty's subjects, and security to their properties and lives, and to prevent any assistance being given to the enemy by the disloyal and disaffected, his excellency has commanded me to communicate to you his positive orders, that you take the most immediate and decisive measures for disposing of the military force under your command, aided by the yeomanry corps, for immediately disarming all persons so commissioned, or persons holding commissions, the authority of the yeomanry act, or persons acting under officers so commissioned; and after making such disposition, you are desired to carry such disarming into effect.

“ His excellency gives you this full authority, in order to give your discretion the greatest latitude, relying at the same time on your prudence and discernment in the exercise of it, so that the peaceable and well-affected may be protected against the evil designs of those who have threatened their lives and property with destruction.

“ His excellency further authorizes you to employ force against any persons assembled in arms, not legally authorized so to be, to disperse all tumultuous assemblies of

persons, though they may not be in arms, without waiting for the sanction and assistance of the civil authority, if in your opinion the peace of the realm, and the safety of his majesty's faithful subjects, may be endangered by waiting for such authority.

" His excellency further authorizes you to consider those parts of the country where the outrages before stated have been committed, or where they shall arise, as being in a state that requires all the measures of exertion and precaution which a country depending upon military force alone for its protection would require; and you are therefore required to station your troops with a view to interrupt communication between those whom you may have reason to suspect of evil designs; to establish patrols on the high roads and other passes, and to stop all persons passing and repassing after certain hours of the night; and in order completely to carry into effect any orders or regulations which, in the circumstances of the case, may be considered by you as necessary, you are authorized to issue notices, stating the regulations, and calling upon his majesty's subjects to be aiding and assisting therein.

" I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

" T. P."

GENERAL LAKE'S PROCLAMATION.

" *Belfast, March 13th, 1797.*

" Whereas the daring and horrid outrages in many parts of this province, evidently perpetrated with a view to supersede the laws and the administration of justice, by an organised system of murder and robbery, have increased to such an alarming degree, as, from their atrocity and extent, to bid defiance to the civil power, and to endanger the lives and properties of his majesty's faithful subjects.

" And whereas, the better to effect their traitorous purposes, several persons who have been enrolled under the authority of his majesty's commissions, and others, have been forcibly and traitorously deprived of their arms, it is therefore become indispensably necessary for the safety and protection of the well-disposed to interpose the king's troops under my command; and I do hereby give notice, that I have received authority and directions to act in such manner as the public safety may require: I therefore hereby enjoin and require all persons in this district (peace officers and those serving in a military capacity excepted) forthwith to bring in and surrender up all arms and ammunition which they have in their possession to the officers commanding the king's troops in their neighbourhood.

" I trust that an immediate compliance with this order may render any act of mine to enforce it unnecessary.

" Let the people seriously reflect, before it be too late, on the ruin into which they are rushing; let them reflect on their present prosperity, and the miseries in which they will inevitably be involved by persisting in acts of positive rebellion; let them instantly, by surrendering up their arms, and restoring those traitorously taken from the king's forces, rescue themselves from the severity of military authority. Let all the loyal and well-intentioned act together with energy and spirit in enforcing subordination to the laws, and restoring tranquillity to their respective neighbourhoods, and they may be assured of protection and support from me.

" And I do hereby invite all persons, who are enabled to give information touching arms and ammunition which may be concealed, immediately to communicate the same to the several officers commanding his majesty's forces in their respective districts; and for their encouragement and reward, I do hereby promise and engage that strict and inviolable secrecy shall be observed with respect to all per-

sons who shall make communication, and that every person who shall make it shall receive a reward of the full value of all such arms and ammunition.

" G. LAKE, Lieut. Gen.
" Commanding the Northern Districts."

No. VII.

The eloquent extract from Curran's speech, which it was intended to introduce here, had already been selected among the specimens of his oratory in the third book of the present volume. (See pp. 404, 405.) The mistake was not discovered till it was too late to alter the reference in the text to this number in the Appendix.

No. VIII.

Extract from Lord Grenville's Speech on the Union.

" In the performance of his duty it afforded him," he said, " some relief to find that the two main points on which the resolutions were founded had been sufficiently established to preclude the necessity of dwelling upon them. These were, that the legislature of Ireland had an independent right of deciding upon any proposal of Union as well as the parliament of Great Britain; and that the interest of the empire at large, and of every branch of it in particular, required the maintenance and improvement of the connexion between the countries. So far from thinking it unseason-

able, he was of opinion, that it was highly expedient and politic to enter upon a speedy inquiry into the merits of the measure. Its nature had been misconceived in Ireland; the views of its advocates had been misrepresented; prejudices and unfounded alarms had thrown an odium on the proposition. To dissipate such delusions, and repel such assaults, early deliberation was necessary, that national animosity might not be embittered or inflamed into a decisive rejection of the offer. It could not be thought an ill complement to the commons of Ireland to discuss a scheme which they had not finally exploded, though it did not appear to have received their strong approbation."

In examining the state of connexion between the kingdoms, his lordship observed, that the settlement of 1782 did not supply the link which the abrogation of the former system had destroyed. It did not provide both for the independence of the parliament of Ireland, and for the close connexion so essentially requisite for the common interests of the two countries. The supposed identity of the regal power in both was the only bond and security of that connexion. That in a pure and unmixed monarchy might be sufficient, because the power of the sovereign could be exerted in the same manner in every part. The case, however, was different in a mixed government, where the exercise of authority was limited by the different privileges of the component parts. In Holland, for instance, from the time of Sir William Temple to the late subversion of the government of that country, every friend to the United States had lamented the imperfect connexion which subsisted between them, and every enemy had availed himself of the defect. The Americans, on the establishment of their independance, had experienced a similar inconvenience. The power which existed in each of the federal states was found to be too great, and that of the whole too feeble. It had been thought necessary, therefore, to abridge the

authority of the states individually, to draw closer the general union, and to enlarge the authority by which the whole was governed and holden together. Even now, perhaps, it was one of the principal defects in the constitution of the American States that the power of each was too extensive, and that of the general legislature and government too weak for the public interest and security. The want of a general government, to direct the efforts and employ the resources of the whole confederacy, had contributed to the ruin of Switzerland. Had that country possessed a government capable of employing and directing its united strength, it might have opposed an effectual resistance to the violence and injustice of its perfidious enemy.

Considering the supposed bond of connexions between Great Britain and Ireland, his lordship did not hesitate to say, that it was absolutely null. If by the constitution the royal power could soar above the control of parliament, the royal identity might operate as a medium of connexion; but if the parliament could check that power, and the crown required the aid of the legislature, even for ordinary occasions of government, the connexion was nugatory while each realm had a distinct parliament.

The noble secretary proceeded to treat in detail of the chief branches of the royal prerogative, with a view of illustrating the manner in which they were or might be exercised in the two kingdoms. He argued distinctly upon the exercise of the ecclesiastical, military, fiscal, and political prerogatives of the crown, and plainly shewed how it might be checked and perverted from the constitutional ends of vesting them in the executive, by the possible (and as had actually happened in the case of the regency) discordance of independent parliaments. In the present state of connexion, he contended, that the crown itself might give rise to a contest. The title to the crown was created by par-

liament, which was at all times competent to alter it. On what foundation then did the succession rest? It was regulated by the act of annexation: the Irish parliament was independent, and might vary the tenure as well as that of Great Britain. Hence it was necessary for the general interests of the empire, that some measures should be taken for strengthening this connexion. In the adjustment of a scheme of this nature the local interests of Ireland claimed particular attention; and indeed the proposed plan would consolidate and extend those interests. The evils of that kingdom obviously called for a speedy remedy. The present government unfortunately had not grown up with the habits of the people. The English connexion was begun among them by the worst of all conquests, one that was incomplete and partial. At different times the invaders made occasional progress, and renewed hostilities kept alive the flame of animosity.

His lordship then went into an historical disquisition of the progress of that country to civilization and its present state. The good consequence of Union would quickly appear in the progress of civilization, the prevalence of order, the increase of industry and wealth, and the improvement of moral habits. The Hibernian protestants would feel themselves secure under the protection of a protestant imperial parliament; the anxiety of the catholics would be allayed by the hope of a more candid examination of their claims from a parliament not influenced by the prejudices of a local legislature. A free admission of the catholics into the Irish parliament might lead to a subversion of the constitution; but all fear of their preponderancy would vanish under a general legislature, as they then would be far numbered by the protestants. The animosities of these rival parties would be allayed, and a tranquillity which Ireland had rarely enjoyed would be the pleasing result. He then touched upon the real point in dispute. It was ab-

surd to suppose, that the independance of Ireland would be sacrificed in the event of an Union. It would still remain, and even derive fresh vigour from being consolidated with the proudest and most solid independance that ever was enjoyed. Before the Union which took place in 1707, England and Scotland were, in fact, less independant than when they afterwards composed the kingdom of Great Britain. By this Union each kingdom had become more independant of foreign nations, and more independant, if he could so speak, of human events; each had become more powerful, and had increased in prosperity. In like manner, if this legislative Union should take place, no individual would suffer in dignity, rank, or condition; but, in a national view, all would receive an addition. When the Union with Scotland was in agitation, loud clamours arose against it; but time had shewn that they were ill-founded. It was promotive of the general interests of the empire to consult the interests of every component part of it; and, as this had proved true with regard to Scotland, in consequence of an Union with that country, so he was persuaded a similar measure would operate with respect to Ireland. Nothing could be adduced as a more powerful motive to Union than that both countries were assailed by a common enemy, whose aim was to destroy Great Britain by making Ireland the medium of that mischief. Before the Union with Scotland, it was the chief aim of the French to render that country subservient to their insidious designs. At present the chief hope of resistance to the tyrannical power of France seemed to rest on Great Britain; and Ireland, in her weak and disordered state, could look to this country alone for support. Her independance was essentially involved in her connexion with Britain; and if she should shake off that tie, she would fall under the French yoke,

No. IX.

The Articles of Union.

Resolved, 1. That in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions, as may be established by the acts of the respective parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

Resolved, 2. That for the purpose of establishing a Union, upon the basis stated in the resolution of the two houses of parliament of Great Britain, communicated by his Majesty's command in the message sent to this house by his excellency the lord lieutenant, it would be fit to propose, as the first article of Union, that the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon the first day of January, which shall be in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and one, and for ever after, be united in one kingdom, by the name of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and that the royal stile and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of the said united kingdom, and its dependencies, and also the ensigns, armorial flags and banners thereof, shall be such as his Majesty, by his royal proclamation, under the seal of the united kingdom, shall be pleased to appoint.

Resolved, 3. That for the same purpose, it would be fit to propose, that the succession of the imperial crown of the said united kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner, as the succession to the imperial crowns of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited

pound interest, in case of contribution in time of war. Provided the surplus so to accumulate, shall at no future period be suffered to exceed the sum of five millions.

Resolved, 8. That all monies hereafter to be raised by loan, in peace or war, for the service of the united kingdom, by the parliament thereof, shall be considered to be a joint debt, and the charges thereof shall be borne by the respective countries in the proportions of their respective contributions. Provided, that if at any time in raising the respective contributions, hereby fixed for each kingdom, the parliament of the united kingdom shall judge it fit to raise a greater proportion of such respective contributions in one kingdom within the year, than in the other, or to set apart a greater proportion of sinking fund for the liquidation of the whole, or any part of the loan, raised on account of the one country, than that raised on account of the other country, then such part of the said loan, for the liquidation of which different provisions have been made for the respective countries, shall be kept distinct, and shall be borne by each separately, and only that part of the said loan be deemed joint and common, for the reduction of which, the respective countries shall have made provision in the proportion of their respective contributions.

Resolved, 9. That if at any future day, the separate debt of each kingdom respectively shall have been liquidated, or the values of their respective debts (estimated according to the amount of the interest and annuities attending the same, of the sinking fund, applicable to the reduction thereof, and the period within which the whole capital of such debt shall appear to be redeemable by such sinking fund) shall be to each other, in the same proportion with the respective contributions of each kingdom respectively, or where the amount by which the value of the larger of such debts shall vary from such proportion, shall not exceed one hundredth part of the said value; and if it shall appear to the united

parliament that the respective circumstances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each, to the future general expence of the united kingdom, it shall be competent to the said united parliament to declare, that all future expence thenceforth to be incurred, together with the interest and charges of all joint debts contracted previous to such declaration, shall be defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each country, and thenceforth, from time to time, as circumstances may require, to impose and apply such taxes accordingly, subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear, from time to time; to demand; that from the period of such declaration it shall no longer be necessary to regulate the contributions of the two countries towards the future general expences according to any of the rules herein-before provided. Provided nevertheless, that the interest or charges which may remain on account of any part of the separate debt with which either country is chargeable, and which shall not be liquidated or consolidated proportionably as above, shall, until extinguished, continue to be defrayed by separate taxes on each country.

Resolved, 10. That a sum not less than the sum which has been granted by the parliament of Ireland, on the average of six years, as premiums for the internal encouragement of agriculture or manufacture, or for the maintaining institutions for pious and charitable purposes, shall be applied, for the period of twenty years after the Union, to such local purposes, in such manner as the parliament of the united kingdom shall direct.

Resolved, 11. That from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all public revenue arising from the territorial dependencies of the united

kingdom shall be applied to the general expenditure of the empire, in the proportions of the respective contributions of the two countries.

Resolved, 12. That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the lords spiritual of Ireland, and the lords temporal of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the house of lords of the parliament of the united kingdom, and one hundred commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Cork, one for the university of Trinity College, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs) be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the house of commons in the parliament of the united kingdom.

Resolved, 13. That such acts as shall be passed in the parliament of Ireland previous to the Union, to regulate the modes by which the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons to serve in the parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned or returned to the said parliament, shall be considered as forming part of the treaty of Union, and shall be incorporated in the act of the respective parliaments by which the said Union shall be ratified and established.

Resolved, 14. That all questions touching the election of members to sit on the part of Ireland in the house of commons of the united kingdom shall be heard and decided in the same manner as questions touching such elections in Great Britain now are, or at any time hereafter shall by law be heard and decided; subject nevertheless to such particular regulations in respect of Ireland as from local circumstances the parliament of the said united kingdom may from time to time deem expedient.

Resolved, 15. That the qualifications in respect of property of the members elected on the part of Ireland to sit in the house of commons of the united kingdom shall be

respectively the same as are now provided by law, in cases of elections for counties, and cities, and boroughs respectively, in that part of Great Britain called England, unless any other provision shall hereafter be made in that respect by act of the parliament of the united kingdom.

Resolved, 16. That when his majesty, his heirs, or successors, shall declare his, her, or their pleasure, for holding the first or any subsequent parliament of the united kingdom, a proclamation shall issue, under the great seal of the united kingdom, to cause the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons who are to serve in the parliament thereof on the part of Ireland, to be returned in such manner as by any act of this present session of the parliament of Ireland shall be provided; and that the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain shall, together with the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons so returned as aforesaid on the part of Ireland, constitute the two houses of parliament of the united kingdom.

Resolved, 17. That if his majesty, on, or before the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, on which day the Union is to take place, shall declare, under the great seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain should be members of the respective houses of the first parliament on the part of Great Britain, then the said lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain shall accordingly be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain; and they, together with the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons so summoned and returned as above on the part of Ireland, shall be the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of the first parliament of the united kingdom; and such first parliament may (in that case) if not sooner dissolved, continue to sit so long as the present parliament of Great Britain may now by law

continue to sit; and that every one of the lords of parliament of the united kingdom, and every member of the house of commons of the united kingdom, in the first and all succeeding parliaments, shall, until the parliament of the united kingdom shall otherwise provide, take the oaths, and make and subscribe the declaration, which are at present by law enjoined to be taken, made and subscribed by the lords and commons of the parliament of Great Britain.

Resolved, 18. That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the churches of that part of Great Britain called England, and of Ireland, should be united into one church; and the archbishops, bishops, deans, and clergy of the churches of England and Ireland shall, from time to time, be summoned to, and entitled to sit in, convocation of the united church, in the like manner, and subject to the same regulations as are at present by law established, with respect to the like orders of the church of England; and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the united church shall be preserved as now by law established for the church of England; and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the church of Scotland shall likewise be preserved as now by law established for the church of Scotland; and that the continuance and preservation for ever of the said united church, as the established church of that part of the united kingdom called England and Ireland, shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental condition of the treaty of Union.

Resolved, 19. That for the same purpose, all laws in force at the time of the Union, and all courts of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established, subject only to such alterations and regulations, from time to time, as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require; provided that all writs of error and appeals depending at the time of the Union, or hereafter to be

brought, and which might now be finally decided by the house of lords of either kingdom, shall from and after the union be finally decided by the house of lords of the united kingdom; and provided, that from and after the union there shall remain in Ireland an instance Court of Admiralty, for the determination of causes, civil, and maritime only, and that all laws at present in force in either kingdom, which shall be contrary to any of the provisions which may be enacted by any act for carrying this article into effect, be from and after the Union repealed.

Resolved, 20. That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that his majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing as to encouragement and bounties on the like articles, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, respectively and generally in respect of trade and navigation, in all ports and places in the united kingdom and its dependencies; and that in all treaties made by his majesty, his heirs, and successors, with any foreign power, his majesty's subjects of Ireland shall have same the privileges, and be on the same footing as his majesty's subjects of Great Britain.

Resolved, 21. That from the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles the growth or manufacture of either country to the other, shall cease and determine; and that the said articles, shall thenceforth be exported from one country to the other without any duty or bounty on such export.

Resolved, 22. That all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, not herein-after enumerated as subject to specific duties, shall from henceforth be imported into each country from the other free of duty, other than such countervailing duty as shall be annexed to the

several articles contained in the Schedule No. I.; and that the articles hereafter enumerated shall be subject for the period of twenty years from the Union, on importation into each country from the other, to the duties specified in the Schedule No. 2, annexed to this article, viz.

Apparel	Lace, gold and silver, gold
Brass, wrought	and silver threads
Cabinet ware	Thread, bullion for lace, pearl
Coaches and Carriages	and spangles
Copper, wrought	Millinery
Cottons	Paper, stained
Glass	Pottery
Haberdashery	Saddlery
Hats	Silk manufacture
Tin plates, wrought iron,	Stockings.
and hard-ware	

And that the woollen manufacture shall pay on importation into each country, the duties now payable on importation into Ireland; salt and hops on importation into Ireland; duties not exceeding those which are now paid in Ireland; and coals on importation to be subject to burdens not exceeding those to which they are now subject.

That calicoes and muslins be subject and liable to the duties now payable on the same, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight; and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced in such proportions, and at such periods as shall hereafter be enacted, so as that the said duties shall stand at ten per cent, from and after the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen, until the fifth day of January, which shall be in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty one; and that cotton yarn, and cotton

which shall also be subject and liable to the duties now payable upon the same, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced at such times, and in such proportions, as shall be hereafter enacted so as that all duties shall cease on the said articles from and after the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen.

Resolved, 23. That any articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, which are or may be subject to internal duty, or to duty on the materials of which they are composed, may be made subject on their importation into each country respectively, from the other, to such countervailing duty as shall appear to be just and reasonable in respect to such internal duty or duties on the materials; and that for the said purposes the articles specified in the said Schedule No. 1. should upon importation into Ireland, be subject to the duty which shall be set forth therein, liable to be taken off, diminished or increased in the manner herein specified; and that upon the like export of the like articles from each country to the other respectively, a drawback shall be given equal in amount to the countervailing duty, payable on the articles herein before specified, on the import into the same country with the other; and that in like manner, in future, it shall be competent to the united parliament to impose any new or additional countervailing duties, or to take off, or diminish such existing countervailing duties as may appear on like principles to be just and reasonable, in respect of any future, or additional, internal duty on any article of the growth or manufacture, of either country, or of any new additional duty on any materials of which such articles may be composed, or any abatement of the same; and that when any such new or additional countervailing duty, shall be so imposed on the import of any article into either country from the other, a

drawback equal in amount to such countervailing duty, shall be given in like manner on the export of every such article respectively from the same country.

Resolved, 24. That all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, when exported through the other, shall in all cases exported, subject to the same charges as if they had been exported directly from the country of which they were the growth, produce, or manufacture.

Resolved, 25. That all duty charged on the import of foreign or colonial goods into either country, shall, on their export to the other, be either drawn back, or the amount, if any be retained, shall be placed to the credit of the country to which they shall be so exported, so long as the general expences of the empire shall be defrayed by proportional contributions. Provided nothing herein shall extend to take away any duty, bounty or prohibition which exists with respect to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuit, but that the same may be regulated, varied or repeated, from time to time, as the united parliament shall deem expedient.

SCHEDULE, No. I.

Of the articles to be charged with countervailing duties upon importation from Great Britin into Ireland, according to the sixth article of union.

Articles to be charged with countervailing duty in Ireland.

Beer	Silk
Glass	Spirits
Leather	Sugar, refined
Paper, stained	Sweets
Paper	Tobacco,

SCHEDULE, No. II.

Of the articles charged with the duties specified upon importation into Great Britain and Ireland, respectively, according to the sixth article of the Union.

Ten per cent, on the true value.

Apparel	Cotton, except calicoes and
Brass, wrought	muslins
Cabinet ware	Glass
Coaches and other carriages	Haberdashery
Copper, wrought	Hats
Tin plates, wrought iron, and	Paper, stained
hard-ware	Pottery
Lace, gold and silver, gold	Sadlery and other manufac-
and silver threads, bullion	tured leather
for lace, pearl and span	Silk manufacture
gles	Stockings.
Millinery	

No. X.

An Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

Whereas in pursuance of his majesty's most gracious declaration to the two houses of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland, respectively, to consider of such measures as might best tend to strengthen and consolidate the connexion between the two kingdoms, the two houses of the parliament of Great Britain, and the two houses of the parliament of Ireland, have severally agreed and resolved, that, in order

to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power and resources of the British empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions, as may be established by the acts of the respective parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

And whereas in furtherance of the said resolution, both houses of the said two parliaments respectively have likewise agreed upon certain articles for effectuating and establishing the said purposes in the tenor following.

Article I. That it be the first article of the Union of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon the first day of January, which shall be in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and one, and for ever after, be united into one kingdom, by the name of *The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*; and that the royal stile and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of the said united kingdom and its dependencies; and also the ensigns, armorial flags and banners thereof, shall be such as his majesty, by his royal proclamation under the great seal of the united kingdom, shall be pleased to appoint.

Art. II. That it be the second article of the Union, that the succession to the imperial crown of the said united kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner as the succession to the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of Union between England and Scotland.

Art. III. That it be the third article of Union, that the said united kingdom be represented in one and the same

parliament, to be stiled *The Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*.

Art. IV. That it be the fourth article of the Union, that four lords spiritual of Ireland by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland elected for life, by the peers of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the house of lords of the parliament of the united kingdom: and one hundred commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the university of Trinity College, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs), be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the house of commons of the parliament of the united kingdom:

That such act as shall be passed in the parliament of Ireland previous to the Union, to regulate the modes by which the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons, to serve in the parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned and returned to the said parliament, shall be considered as forming part of the treaty of Union, and shall be incorporated in the acts of the respective parliaments by which the said Union shall be notified and established:

That all questions touching the rotation or election of lords spiritual or temporal of Ireland, to sit in the parliament of the united kingdom, shall be decided by the house of lords thereof; and whenever, by reason of an equality of votes in the election of any such lords temporal, a complete election shall not be made according to the true intent of this article, the names of those peers for whom such equality of votes shall be so given, shall be written on pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass, by the clerk of the parliaments, at the table of the house of lords whilst the house is sitting; and the peer or peers whose name or names shall be first drawn out by the

clerk of the parliaments, shall be deemed the peer or peers elected as the case may be :

That any person holding any peerage of Ireland, now subsisting, or hereafter to be created, shall not thereby be disqualified from being elected to serve if he shall so think fit, or from serving and continuing to serve, if he shall so think fit, for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, in the house of commons of the united kingdom, unless he shall have been previously elected as above, to sit in the house of lords of the united kingdom ; but that so long as such peer of Ireland shall so continue to be a member of the house of commons, he shall not be entitled to the privilege of peerage, nor be capable of being elected to serve as a peer on the part of Ireland, or of voting at any such election ; and that he shall be liable to be sued, indicted, proceeded against, and tried as a commoner, for any offence with which he may be charged :

That it shall be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to create peers of that part of the United kingdom called Ireland, and to make promotions in the peerage thereof, after the Union ; provided that no new creation of any such peers shall take place after the Union, until three of the peerages of Ireland, which shall have been existing at the time of the Union, shall have become extinct ; and upon such extinction of three peerages, that it shall be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland ; and in like manner so often as three peerages of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, shall become extinct, it shall be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one other peer of the said part of the united kingdom, and if it shall happen that the peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, shall by extinction of peerages or otherwise, be reduced to the number of one hundred, exclusive of all such peers of that part of the united

kingdom called Ireland as shall hold any peerage of Great Britain subsisting at the time of the Union, or of the united kingdom created since the Union, by which such peers shall be entitled to an hereditary seat in the house of lords of the united kingdom, then and in that case it shall and may be lawful for his majesty, his heirs, and successors, to create one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, as often as any one of such one hundred peerages shall fail by extinction, or as often as any one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, shall become entitled by descent or creation, to an hereditary seat in the house of lords of the united kingdom; it being the true intent and meaning of this article, that at all times after the Union it shall and may be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to keep up the peerage of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland to the number of one hundred, over and above the number of such of the said peers as shall be entitled by descent or creation to an hereditary seat in the house of lords of the united kingdom :

That if any peerage shall at any time be in abeyance, such peerage shall be deemed and taken as an existing peerage; and no peerage shall be deemed extinct, unless on default of claimants to the inheritance of such peerage for the space of one year from the death of the person, who shall have been last possessed thereof; and if no claim shall be made to the inheritance of such peerage in such form and manner as may from time to time be prescribed by the house of lords of the united kingdom, before the expiration of the said period of a year, then and in that case such peerage shall be deemed extinct; provided that nothing herein shall exclude any person from putting in a claim to the peerage so deemed extinct: and if such claim shall be allowed as valid, by judgment of the house of lords of the united kingdom, reported to his majesty, such peerage shall be considered as revived; and in case any new

pound interest, in case of contribution in time of war. Provided the surplus so to accumulate, shall at no future period be suffered to exceed the sum of five millions.

Resolved, 8. That all monies hereafter to be raised by loan, in peace or war, for the service of the united kingdom, by the parliament thereof, shall be considered to be a joint debt, and the charges thereof shall be borne by the respective countries in the proportions of their respective contributions. Provided, that if at any time in raising the respective contributions, hereby fixed for each kingdom, the parliament of the united kingdom shall judge it fit to raise a greater proportion of such respective contributions in one kingdom within the year, than in the other, or to set apart a greater proportion of sinking fund for the liquidation of the whole, or any part of the loan, raised on account of the one country, than that raised on account of the other country, then such part of the said loan, for the liquidation of which different provisions have been made for the respective countries, shall be kept distinct, and shall be borne by each separately, and only that part of the said loan be deemed joint and common, for the reduction of which, the respective countries shall have made provision in the proportion of their respective contributions.

Resolved, 9. That if at any future day, the separate debt of each kingdom respectively shall have been liquidated, or the values of their respective debts (estimated according to the amount of the interest and annuities attending the same, of the sinking fund, applicable to the reduction thereof, and the period within which the whole capital of such debt shall appear to be redeemable by such sinking fund) shall be to each other, in the same proportion with the respective contributions of each kingdom respectively, or where the amount by which the value of the larger of such debts shall vary from such proportion, shall not exceed one hundredth part of the said value; and if it shall appear to the united

parliament that the respective circumstances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each, to the future general expence of the united kingdom; it shall be competent to the said united parliament to declare, that all future expence thenceforth to be incurred, together with the interest and charges of all joint debts contracted previous to such declaration, shall be defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each country, and thenceforth, from time to time, as circumstances may require, to impose and apply such taxes accordingly, subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear, from time to time, to demand; that from the period of such declaration it shall no longer be necessary to regulate the contributions of the two countries towards the future general expences according to any of the rules herein-before provided. Provided nevertheless, that the interest or charges which may remain on account of any part of the separate debt with which either country is chargeable, and which shall not be liquidated or consolidated proportionably as above, shall, until extinguished, continue to be defrayed by separate taxes on each country.

Resolved, 10. That a sum not less than the sum which has been granted by the parliament of Ireland, on the average of six years, as premiums for the internal encouragement of agriculture or manufacture, or for the maintaining institutions for pious and charitable purposes, shall be applied, for the period of twenty years after the Union, to such local purposes, in such manner as the parliament of the united kingdom shall direct.

Resolved, 11. That from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all public revenue arising from the territorial dependencies of the united

the number of members holding such offices or places to the number of twenty; and no person holding any such office or place shall be capable of being elected or of sitting in the said house, while there are twenty persons holding such offices or places sitting in the said house; and that every one of the lords of parliament of the united kingdom, and every member of the house of commons in the united kingdom, in the first and all succeeding parliaments, shall until the parliament of the united kingdom shall otherwise provide, take the oaths, and make and subscribe the declaration, and take and subscribe the oaths now by law enjoined to be taken, made and subscribed by the lords and commons of the parliament of Great Britain:

That the lords of parliament on the part of Ireland, in the house of lords of the united kingdom, shall at all times have the same privileges of parliament which shall belong to the lords of parliament on the part of Great Britain; and the lords spiritual and temporal respectively on the part of Ireland shall at all times have the same rights in respect of their sitting and voting upon the trial of peers, as the lords spiritual and temporal respectively on the part of Great Britain; and that all lords spiritual of Ireland shall have rank and precedency next and immediately after the lords spiritual of the same rank and degree of Great Britain, and shall enjoy all privileges as fully as the lords spiritual of Great Britain do now or may hereafter enjoy the same (the right and privilege of sitting in the house of lords, and, the privileges depending thereon, and particularly the right of sitting on the trial of peers, excepted;) and that the persons holding any temporal peerages of Ireland existing at the time of the Union, shall, from and after the Union have rank and precedency next and immediately after all the persons holding peerages of the like orders and degrees in Great Britain, subsisting at the time of the Union; and that all peerages of Ireland created after the

Union shall have rank and precedency with the peerages of the united kingdom so created, according to the dates of their creations; and that all peerages both of Great Britain and Ireland, now subsisting or hereafter to be created, shall in all other respects, from the date of the Union, be considered as peerages of the united kingdom; and that the peers of Ireland shall, as peers of the united kingdom, be sued and tried as peers, except as aforesaid, and shall enjoy all privileges of peers as fully as the peers of Great Britain; the right and privilege of sitting in the house of lords, and the privilege depending thereon, and the right of sitting on the trial of peers, only excepted:

Art. V. That it be the fifth article of Union, that the churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one protestant episcopal church, to be called, *The United Church of England and Ireland*, and that the doctrine, worship, discipline and government of the said united Church, shall be and shall remain in full force for ever, as the same are now by law established for the Church of England, that the continuance and preservation of the said united Church, as the established church of England and Ireland, shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental part of the Union; and that in like manner the doctrine, worship, discipline and government of the Church of Scotland, shall remain and be preserved as the same are now established by law, and by the acts for the Union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland:

Art. VI. That it be the sixth article of Union, that his majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing, as to encouragements and bounties on the like articles, being the growth, produce or manufacture of either country respectively, and generally in respect

of trade and navigation in all ports and places of the united kingdom and its dependencies; and that in all treaties made by his majesty, his heirs, and successors, with any foreign power, his majesty's subjects of Ireland shall have the same privileges, and be on the same footing, as his majesty's subjects of Great Britain:

That, from the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, to the other, shall cease and determine; and that the said articles shall henceforth be exported from one country to the other, without duty or bounty on such export.

That all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, (not herein after enumerated as subject to specific duties,) shall from henceforth be imported into each country, from the other, free from duty, other than such countervailing duties on the several articles enumerated in the schedule, number One, A. and B. hereunto annexed, as are therein specified, or to such other countervailing duties as shall hereafter be imposed by the parliament of the united kingdom, in the manner herein after provided; and that, for the period of twenty years from the Union, the articles enumerated in the schedule, number Two hereunto annexed, shall be subject on importation into each country from the other, to the duties specified in the said schedule number Two; and the woollen manufactures, known by the names of *Old and New Drapery*, shall pay, on importation into each country from the other, the duties now payable on importation into Ireland: salt and hops, on importation into Ireland from Great Britain, duties not exceeding those which are now paid on importation into Ireland; and coals on importation into Ireland from Great Britain, shall be subject to burthens not exceeding those to which they are now subject:

That callicoos and muslins shall on their importation into either country from the other, be subject and liable to the duties now payable on the same on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight; and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced, by equal proportions as near as may be in each year, so as that the said duties shall stand at *ten per centum* from and after the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and twenty one: and that cotton yarn and cotton twist, shall on their importation into either country from the other, be subject and liable to the duties now payable upon the same upon the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced by equal proportions as near as may be in each year, so that as that all duties shall cease on the said articles from and after the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen:

That any articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, which are or may be subject to internal duty, or to duty on the materials of which they are composed, may be made subject, on their importation into each country respectively from the other, to such countervailing duty as shall appear to be just and reasonable in respect of such internal duties or duty on the materials; and that for the said purposes the articles specified in the said schedule number One, A and B. shall be subject to the duties set forth therein, liable to be taken off, diminished or increased, in the manner herein specified: and that upon the export of the said articles from each country to the other respectively, a drawback shall be given equal in amount to the countervailing duty payable on such ar-

ticles on the import thereof into the same country from the other; and that in like manner in future it shall be competent to the united parliament to impose any new or additional countervailing duties, or to take off, or diminish such existing countervailing duties as may appear, on like principles, to be just and reasonable in respect of any future or additional internal duty on any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, or of any new and additional duty on any materials of which such articles may be composed, or of any abatement of duty on the same; and that when any such new or additional countervailing duty, shall be so imposed on the import of articles into either country from the other, a drawback, equal in amount to such countervailing duty, shall be given in like manner on the export of every such article respectively from the same country to the other.

That all articles, the growth, produce or manufacture of either country, when exported through the other, shall in all cases be exported subject to the same charges as if they had been exported directly from the country of which they were the growth, produce, or manufacture:

That all duty charged on the import of foreign or colonial goods into either country, shall on their export to the other, be either drawn back, or the amount, if any there be retained, shall be placed to the credit of the country to which they shall be so exported, so long as the expenditure of the united kingdom shall be defrayed by proportional contributions: Provided always, that nothing herein shall extend to take away any duty, bounty, or prohibition which exists with respect to corn, meal, malt, flour, or biscuit, but that all duties, bounties, or prohibitions, on said articles, may be regulated, varied, or repealed from time to time, as the united parliament shall deem expedient.

SCHEDULE, No. I.

Of the articles to be charged with countervailing duties upon importation from Ireland into Great Britain, and from Great Britain into Ireland, respectively, according to the sixth article of Union,

(A) On Importation into Great Britain from Ireland.

Beer.—For every barrel consisting of thirty-six gallons, English beer measure, of Irish beer, ale, or mum, which shall be imported into Great Britain directly from Ireland, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, to be paid by the importer thereof, 8s. excise.

Bricks and Tiles.—For every thousand of Irish bricks, 5s. excise.

For every thousand of Irish plain tiles, 4s. 10d. excise.

For every thousand of Irish pan or ridge tiles, 12s. 10d. excise.

For every hundred of Irish paving tiles, not exceeding ten inches square, 2s. 5d. excise.

For every hundred Irish paving tiles exceeding ten inches square, 4s. 10d. excise,

For every thousand tiles other than such as are hereinbefore enumerated and described, by whatsoever name or names such tiles are or may be called or known, 4s. 10d. excise.

Candles.—For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish candles of tallow, and other candles whatsoever (*except wax and spermaceti*), 1d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish candles, which may be made of wax or spermaceti, or which

are usually called or sold either for wax or spermaceti, notwithstanding the mixture of any other ingredient therewith, 3½d. excise.

Chocolate, &c.—For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish cocoa, cocoa paste, or chocolate, 2s. excise.

Cordage, videlicet.—To be used as standing rigging, or other cordage made from topt hemp, the ton, containing twenty hundred weight, 4l. 10s. 3d. customs.

Of any other sort, cable yarn, pack thread and twine, the ton, containing twenty hundred weight, 4l. 4s. 4d. customs.

Cyder and Perry.—For every hogshead, consisting of sixty-three gallons English wine measure, of Irish cyder and perry, which shall be imported as merchandize or for sale, and which shall be sent or consigned to any factor or agent to sell or dispose of, 19s. 2d. excise.

Glass.—For every square foot superficial measure of Irish plate glass, 2s. 2½d. excise.

For every hundred weight of Irish flint, enamel, stained, paste, or phial glass, 2l. 3s. 6d. excise.

For every hundred weight of Irish spread window glass commonly called broad glass, 8s. 2d. excise.

For every hundred weight of Irish window glass (*not being spread glass*) whether flushed or otherwise manufactured, and commonly called or known by the name of *crown glass*, or *German sheet glass*, 1l. 9s. 9d. excise.

For every hundred weight of vessels made use of in chemical laboratories, and garden glasses, and all other vessels or utensils of common bottle metal, manufactured in Ireland, common bottles excepted, 4s. 0½d. excise.

For every hundred weight of any sort or species of Irish glass, not herein-before enumerated or described, 2s. 4s. excise.

Bottles of common green glass, the dozen quarts, 9d. customs.

Hops.—For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish hops, 1½d. excise.

Leather, mannanufactured.—For every pound weight avoirdupois of hides, of what kind soever, and of calf skins, kids, hog skins, dog skins, and seal skins, tanned in Ireland, and of sheep skins, and lamb skins, so tanned for gloves and bazils, which shall be imported in the whole hide or skin, and neither cut nor diminished in any respect whatever, 1d. excise.

For every dozen of goat skins tanned in Ireland to resemble Spanish leather, 4s. excise.

For every dozen of sheep skins tanned in Ireland for roans, being after the nature of Spanish leather, 2s. 3d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all other hides or skins not herein-before enumerated and described, and of all pieces and parts of hides or skins which shall be tanned in Ireland, 6d. excise.

For all hides of horses, mares and geldings, which shall be dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, for each and every such hide, 1s. 6d. excise.

For all hides of steers, cows, or any other hides of what kind soever (*those of horses, mares, and geldings, excepted*) which shall be dressed in allum, and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, for each and every such hide, 3s. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all calf skins, kids, and seal skins, which shall be so dressed in

allum, and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, and imported into Great Britain, in the whole skin, neither cut nor diminished in any respect whatever, 1½d. excise.

For every dozen of stink calf skins which shall be so dressed in allum, or salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed with the hair on, in Ireland, 3s. excise.

For every dozen of stink calf skins which shall be so dressed in allum, and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed without hair on, in Ireland, and for every dozen of dog skins, and kid skins, which shall be dressed in allum, and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, 1s. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of buck and doe skins, which shall be dressed in allum, and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, and which shall be imported in the whole skin, and neither cut nor diminished in any respect whatever, 6d. excise.

For every dozen of goat skins and beaver skins, which shall be dressed in allum, and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, 2s. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of sheep skins and lamb skins, which shall be dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, and which shall be imported in the whole skin, and neither cut nor diminished in any respect whatever, 1½d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all other hides and skins, not herein-before enumerated and described, and of all pieces or parts of hides or skins, which shall be dressed in allum, and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, 6d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all buck, deer, or elk skins, which shall be dressed in oil in Ireland, and imported in the whole skin, and neither cut nor diminished in any respect whatever, 1s. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all sheep and lamb skins, which shall be dressed in oil in Ireland, 3d. excise.

For every pound avoirdupois of all other hides and skins, and parts and pieces of hides and skins, which shall be dressed in oil in Ireland, 6d. excise.

For every dozen of Irish vellum, 3s. 5½d. excise.

For every dozen of Irish parchment, 1s. 8¼d. excise.

Leather, manufactured into goods and wares:

For every pound weight avoirdupois of tanned leather, manufactured and actually made into goods or wares in Ireland, 1½d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish made boots and shoes, and gloves, and other manufactures made of tawed or dressed leather, 1d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all buck and deer skins, and elk skins, dressed in oil and manufactured into goods and wares in Ireland, 1s. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all sheep and lamb skins, dressed in oil and manufactured into goods or wares, in Ireland, 3d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all other hides and skins, not herein-before enumerated or described, dressed in oil and manufactured into goods or wares in Ireland, 6d. excise.

Mead or Metheglin.—For every gallon, English wine measure, of Irish mead or metheglin, 1s. 0½d. excise.

Paper.—For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish paper, fit or proper, or that may be used for or applied to the uses or purposes of writing, drawing, and printing, or either of them, and of all Irish elephant papers, and cartridge papers, 2½d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish coloured papers, and whited brown papers (*other than and except elephant and cartridge papers*) fit and proper

for the use and purpose of wrapping up goods, and not fit, or proper, or capable of being used for or applied to the purposes of writing, drawing, and printing, or either of them, 1d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish brown paper, fit and proper for the use and purpose of wrapping up goods, and not fit, or proper, or capable of being used for or applied to the uses and purposes of writing, drawing, and printing, or either of them, 0½d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of every sort or kind of Irish paper, not herein-before enumerated or described, sheathing, and button paper, and button board excepted, 2½d. excise.

For every one hundred weight of Irish pasteboard, mill-board, and scaleboard, 10s. 6d. excise.

For every one hundred weight of Irish glazed papers for clothiers and hot-pressers, 6d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of books, bound or unbound, and of maps or prints, which shall be imported into Great Britain directly from Ireland, 2d. excise.

Printed Goods.—For every yard square of Irish printed, painted, or stained papers, to serve for hangings, or other uses, 1½d. excise.

For every yard in length, reckoning yard-wide, of foreign calicoes and foreign muslins, which shall be printed, painted, stained, or dyed in Ireland, (*except such as shall be dyed throughout of one colour*) over and above any duty of customs payable on the importation of foreign calicoes and muslins, 7d. excise.

For every yard in length, reckoning yard-wide, of all Irish printed, painted, stained, or dyed Irish-made calicoes, muslins, linens, and stuffs, made either of

cotton or linen, mixed with other materials, fustians, velvets, velverets, dimities, and other figured stuffs, made of cotton and other materials, mixed or wholly made of cotton wool (*except such as shall be dyed throughout of one colour only*), 3½d. excise.

For every yard in length, reckoning yard wide, of all Irish printed, stained, painted, or dyed Irish-made stuffs, not before enumerated or described (*except such as shall be dyed throughout of one colour only, and except stuffs made of woollen, or whereof the greatest part in value shall be woollen*), 8½d. excise.

For every yard in length, reckoning half-yard wide, of all Irish printed, stained, painted, or dyed silks, (*silk handkerchiefs excepted*) over and above any duty of customs payable on the importation of silks, 1s. 1½d. excise.

For every yard square of Irish printed, stained, painted, or dyed silk handkerchiefs, and so in proportion for wide or narrow silk handkerchiefs, over and above every duty of customs payable on silk, 4½d. excise.

Salt.—For every bushel, consisting of fifty-six pounds weight avoirdupois, of Irish salt, or Irish Glauber, or Irish Epsom salt, 10s. excise.

For every bushel, consisting of sixty-five pounds weight avoirdupois, of Irish rock salt, 10s. excise.

Silk.—Manufactures of ribbons and stuffs of silk only, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, 5s. customs*.

Silk, and ribbons of silk, mixed with gold or silver, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, 6s. 8d. customs.

* Two-thirds of the weight of gauze and one-third of the weight of serge is to be deducted for gum and dress.

Silk stockings, silk gloves, silk fringe, silk laces, stitching or sewing silk, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, 3s. customs.

Silk, manufactures of, not otherwise enumerated or described, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, 4s. customs.

Stuffs of silk and program yarn, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, 1s. 2d. customs.

Stuffs of silk mixed with incl or cotton, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, 1s. 8d. customs.

Stuffs of silk and worsted, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, 10d. customs.

Stuffs of silk mixed with any other material, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, 1s. 3d. customs.

Soap.—For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish hard, cake, or ball soap, 2½d. excise.

For every pound weight of Irish soft soap, 1½d. excise.

Spirits, British.—For every gallon, English wine measure, of spirits, aqua vitæ, or strong waters, which shall be distilled or made in Ireland, and imported at a strength not exceeding one to ten over hydrometer proof, 5s. 1½d. excise.

Note. Spirits above the strength of one to ten will be charged in proportion: and on sweetened or compounded spirits, the duty will be computed upon the highest degree of strength at which such spirits can be made.

Starch.—For every pound weight of Irish starch or hair-powder, of what kind soever, 3½d. excise.

Sugars.—Refined; *videlicet*, called *bastards*, whole or ground, the hundred weight, 18s. 2d. customs.

Lump, the hundred weight, 1l. 14s. 0¾d. customs.

Single loaf, the hundred weight, 1l. 16s. 4d. customs.

Powder loaf, and double loaf, the hundred weight,
1l. 19s. 1d. customs.

Sugar-candy, brown, the hundred weight, 1l. 14s. 0½d.
customs.

Sugar-candy, white, the hundred weight, 1l. 19s. 1d.
customs.

Sugar, refined, of any other sort, the hundred weight,
1l. 19s. 1d. customs.

Sweets.—For every barrel, consisting of thirty-one gallons
and a half, English wine measure, of Irish sweets,
or other Irish liquor, made by infusion, fermenta-
tion, or otherwise, from fruit or sugar, or from
fruit or sugar mixed with any other materials or in-
gredients whatsoever, commonly called *sweets*, or
called or distinguished by the name of *made wines*,
2l. 2s. excise.

Tobacco and Snuff.—For every pound weight avoirdupois
of unmanufactured tobacco, of the growth or pro-
duce of Ireland, over and above any duty of cus-
toms, 1s. 1d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manu-
factured short cut tobacco, or tobacco manufactured
into what is commonly called or known by the name
of Spanish, 1s. 7d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manu-
factured shag tobacco, 1s. 5½d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manu-
factured roll tobacco, 1s. 7d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manu-
factured carrot tobacco, 1s. 5½d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of every other
sort of Irish manufactured tobacco, not herein be-
fore enumerated or described, 1s. 7d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manu-
factured rappee snuff, 1s. 4½d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured Scotch snuff, 1s. 10½d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured brown Scotch snuff, 1s. 3½d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured tobacco stalk flour, 1s. 9d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of every other sort or kind of Irish manufactured snuff, or snuff-work, not herein before enumerated or described, 1s. 10½d. excise.

Tobacco unmanufactured, the pound 6d. $\frac{6}{10}$ customs.

Verjuice.—For every hogshead, consisting of 63 gallons, English wine measure, of Irish verjuice, 7s. 8d. excise.

Vinegar.—For every barrel, consisting of 34 gallons, English beer measure, of Irish vinegar, 12s. 8½d. excise.

Wire.—For every ounce troy weight of Irish gilt wire, 9½d. excise.

For every ounce troy of Irish silver wire, 7d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish gold thread, gold lace, or gold fringe, made of plate wire spun upon silk, 7s. 8d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish silver thread, silver lace, or silver fringe, made of plate wire spun upon silk, 5s. 9d. excise.

(B.) *On Importation into Ireland from Great Britain.*

Beer.—For and upon every barrel, containing 32 gallons, imported from Great Britain, 4s. 6d.

Glass Bottles.—For and upon each reputed quart, 0½d.

Leather unmanufactured.—For and upon each pound in every hide or skin, or piece of any such hide or skin of what kind or denomination soever, other than such as are herein after mentioned and described, 1d.

For and upon each hide of horses, mares, or geldings, 1s.

For and upon all skins called veal-skins, and all skins of hogs, for every dozen skins thereof, and after the same rate for any greater or less quantity, 3s.

For and upon all skins for shoes and other like purposes, and all seal-skins, and for every dozen thereof, and after the same rate for any greater or less quantity, 2s. 6d.

For and upon all skins for bookbinders' use, for every dozen thereof, and after the same rate for any greater or less quantity, 1s.

For and upon all goat-skins tanned with shumack, or otherwise to resemble Spanish leather, and all sheep-skins tanned for roans, being after the nature of Spanish leather, for every pound weight avoirdupois, 1d.

For and upon all sheep and lamb skins tanned for gloves, and basils, for every pound weight avoirdupois, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, 0½d.

Leather, dressed in Oil.—For and upon every hide and skin, and piece of such hide and skin, other than such as are herein-after mentioned or described, for every pound weight avoirdupois, 2d.

For and upon all deer-skins, goat-skins, and beaver-skins, for every pound weight thereof avoirdupois, 3d.

For and upon all calf-skins, for every pound weight thereof avoirdupois, 2d.

For and upon all sheep and lamb skins, for every pound weight avoirdupois, 0½d.

Vellum and Parchment.—For and upon every dozen skins of vellum, 6d.

For and upon every dozen skins of parchment, 3d.

Leather, manufactured into Goods and Wares.—For and upon all tanned leather manufactured into goods and wares, whereof leather is the most valuable part, the following duties, *videlicet*,

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of tanned leather, manufactured and actually made into goods and wares, in Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the most valuable part, 1d.

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of tawed or dressed leather, manufactured and actually made in Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the most valuable part, 1d.

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of all buck and deer skins, and elk-skins, dressed in oil, and manufactured into goods and wares in Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the most valuable part, 3d.

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of all sheep and lamb skins dressed in oil, and manufactured into goods and wares in Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the most valuable part, 0½d.

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of all other hides and skins, not herein-before enumerated or described, dressed in oil, and manufactured into goods and wares in Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the most valuable part, 2d.

Paper.—For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of paper, fit or proper for, or what may be used for or applied to the uses or purposes of writing, drawing, or printing, or either of them, and all elephant paper, and all cartridge paper, 2½d.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all coloured paper and whited brown papers, other than and except elephant and cartridge paper, fit or proper for

the uses or purposes of wrapping up goods, and not fit or proper, or capable of being used for or applied to the uses or purposes of writing, drawing, or printing, or either of them, and also except paper-hangings, 1d.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of brown paper, fit and proper for the use or purposes of wrapping up goods, and not fit or proper or capable of being used for or applied to the uses or purposes of writing, drawing, or printing, or either of them, 0½d.

For and upon every one hundred weight of glazed paper for clothiers and hot-pressers, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, 5s.

For and upon every hundred weight of pasteboard, millboard, and scaleboard, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, 10s.

For and upon every pound weight of every sort and kind of paper, not herein-before particularly enumerated or described, other than and except papers commonly called or known by the names of sheathing-paper, and button-paper or button-board, and paper-hangings, 2½d.

Stained Paper.—For and upon every square yard of printed, painted, or stained paper, for hanging or other uses, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, 1d.

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of books, bound or unbound, and for maps or prints, which shall be imported into Ireland from Great Britain, 2d.

Cards.—For and upon every pack of printed, painted, or playing cards, made or manufactured in Great Britain, 1s. 5d.

And a further duty of 2½d. per pound weight.

Dice.—For and upon every pair of dice made or manufactured in Great Britain, 10s.

Wrought Plate.—For and upon every ounce troy weight of gold or silver plate, which shall be wrought, made, or manufactured in Great Britain, and imported into Ireland,

Silk Manufacture.—For and upon all silks, being of the manufacture of Great Britain, and imported directly from thence, the following duties, *videlicet*;

For and upon all ribbons and stuffs of silks only, for every pound weight thereof, containing sixteen ounces, 2s. 1d.

For and upon all silks and ribbons of silk mixed with gold or silver, for every pound weight thereof, containing sixteen ounces, 2s. 9d.

For and all upon silk stockings, silk gloves, silk fringe, silk laces, stitching and sewing silk, for every pound weight thereof, containing sixteen ounces, 1s. 3d.

For and upon all manufactures of silk, not otherwise enumerated or described, for every pound weight thereof, containing sixteen ounces, 1s. 8d.

For and upon all stuffs of silk, and grogram yarn, the pound weight, containing sixteen ounces, 6d.

For and upon all stuffs of silk mixed with incl or cotton, the pound weight, containing sixteen ounces, 9d.

For and upon all stuffs of silk and worsted mixed, the pound weight, containing sixteen ounces, 4d.

For and upon all stuffs of silk mixed with any other materials, the pound weight, containing sixteen ounces, 6½d

Spirits.—For and upon every gallon of spirits, being of the manufacture of Great Britain, and imported from thence, a duty of 3s. 7d.

Sugar, refined,—of the manufacture of Great Britain, and imported directly from thence, the following duties, *videlicet*,

For and upon all sugar called bastards, white or ground, the hundred weight, containing 112 pounds, 19s. 8d.

For and upon all sugar called lump, the hundred weight, containing 112 pounds, 1l. 16s. 10½d.

For and upon all sugar called single loaf sugar, the hundred weight, containing 112 pounds, 1l. 19s. 4d.

For and upon all sugar called powder loaf and double loaf, the hundred weight, containing 112 pounds, 2l. 2s. 4d.

For and upon all sugar called sugar-candy, brown, the hundred weight, containing 112 pounds, 1l. 16s. 10d.

For and upon all sugar called sugar-candy, white, the hundred weight, containing 112 pounds, 2l. 2s. 4d.

For and upon all sugar refined, of any other sort, the hundred weight, containing 112 pounds, 2l. 2s. 4d.

Sweets.—For and upon every barrel, containing thirty-two gallons wine measure, of British sweets, or other British liquor made by infusion, fermentation, or otherwise, from fruits or sugar, or from fruit or sugar mixed with any other material or ingredient whatsoever, commonly called sweets, or called or distinguished by the name of made wines, 10s.

For and upon every gallon of mead or metheglin, 4d.

For and upon every barrel, containing thirty-two gallons of vinegar, 3s.

Tobacco and Snuff.—For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois, of unmanufactured tobacco, of the growth or produce of Great Britain, over and above any duty of customs now payable, 5d.

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured short cut tobacco, or tobacco manufactured into what is commonly called or known by the name of Spanish, 1s. 0½d.

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured shag tobacco cut, 11d.

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured roll tobacco, 1s. $\frac{7}{8}$ d.

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured carrot tobacco, 11d.

For and upon every pound weight of every other sort of British manufactured tobacco, not herein-before enumerated or described, 1s. $0\frac{7}{8}$ d.

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of British manufactured rappee snuff, $10\frac{1}{2}$ d.

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured snuff, called Scotch snuff, 1s. 4d.

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured snuff called brown Scotch snuff, $9\frac{1}{2}$ d.

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured stalk flour, 1s. 3d.

For and upon every pound weight of every other sort or kind of British manufactured snuff, or snuff work, not herein-before enumerated or described, 1s. 4d.

SCHEDULE, No. II.

Of the articles charged with the duties specified upon importation into Great Britain and Ireland respectively, according to the sixth article of Union.

Ten per Cent. on the true Value.

Apparel,
Brass, wrought,
Cabinet ware,
Coaches and other carriages,
Copper, wrought,
Cottons, other than calicoes and muslins,
Glass,
Haberdashery,

Hats,
Tin plates, wrought iron, and hard ware,
Gold and silver lace, gold and silver thread, bullion
for lace, pearl and spangles,
Millinery,
Paper, stained,
Pottery,
Saddlery and other manufactured leather,
Silk manufacture,
Stockings.

Art. VII. That it be the seventh article of Union, that the charge arising from the payment of interest, and the sinking fund for the reduction of the principal, of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the Union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively, except as herein-after provided.

That for the space of twenty years after the Union shall take place, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland respectively towards the expenditure of the united kingdom in each year shall be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain and two parts for Ireland; and that at the expiration of the said twenty years, the future expenditure of the united kingdom (other than the interest and charges of the debt to which either country shall be separately liable) shall be defrayed in such proportions as the parliament of the united kingdom shall deem just and reasonable, upon a comparison of the real value of the exports and imports of the respective countries, upon an average of the three years next preceding the period of revision; or on a comparison of the value of the quantities of the following articles consumed within the respective countries, on a similar average, viz. beer, spirits, sugar, wine, tea, tobacco, and malt; or according to the aggregate proportion resulting from both these considerations combined; or on a compa-

riſon of the amount of income in each country, eſtimated from the produce of the ſame period of a general tax, if ſuch ſhall have been impoſed on the ſame deſcriptions of income in both countries; and that the parliament of the united kingdom ſhall afterwards proceed in like manner to revise and fix the ſaid proportions according to the ſame rules, or any of them, at periods not more diſtant than twenty years, nor leſs than ſeven years from each other; unleſs previous to any ſuch period the parliament of the united kingdom ſhall have declared, as herein-after provided, that the expenditure of the united kingdom ſhall be defrayed indifcriminately, by equal taxes impoſed on the like articles in both countries; that for the defraying the ſaid expenditure according the rules above laid down, the revenues of Ireland ſhall hereafter conſtitute a conſolidated fund, which ſhall be charged, in the firſt inſtance, with the intereſt of the debt of Ireland, and with the ſinking fund applicable to the reduction of the ſaid debt, and the remainder ſhall be applied towards defraying the proportion of the expenditure of the united kingdom to which Ireland may be liable in each year; that the proportion of contribution to which Great Britain and Ireland will be liable, ſhall be raiſed by ſuch taxes in each country reſpectively as the parliament of the united kingdom ſhall, from time to time ſhall deem fit: provided always, that in regulating the taxes in each country, by which their reſpective proportions ſhall be levied, no article in Ireland ſhall be made liable to any new or additional duty, by which the whole amount of duty payable thereon would exceed the amount which will be thereafter payable in England on the like article: that, if at the end of any year any ſurplus ſhall accrue from the revenues of Ireland, after defraying the intereſt, ſinking fund, and proportional contribution and ſeparate charges to which the ſaid country ſhall then be liable, taxes ſhall be taken off to the amount of ſuch ſurplus, or the ſurplus ſhall

be applied by the parliament of the united kingdom to local purposes in Ireland, or to make good any deficiency which may arise in the revenues of Ireland in time of peace, or be invested, by the commissioners of the national debt of Ireland, in the funds, to accumulate for the benefit of Ireland at compound interest, in ease of the contribution of Ireland in time of war; provided that the surplus so to accumulate shall at no future period be suffered to exceed the sum of five millions: that all monies to be raised after the Union, by loan, in peace or war, for the service of the united kingdom, by the parliament thereof, shall be considered to be a joint debt, and the charges thereof shall be borne by the respective countries in the proportion of their respective contributions; provided that, if at any time, in raising their respective contributions hereby fixed for each country, the parliament of the united kingdom shall judge it fit to raise a greater proportion of such respective contributions in one country within the year than in the other, or to set apart a greater proportion of sinking fund for the liquidation of the whole or any part of the loan raised on account of the one country than that raised on account of the other country, then such part of the said loan, for the liquidation of which different provisions shall have been made for the respective countries, shall be kept distinct, and shall be borne by each separately, and only that part of the said loan be deemed joint and common, for the reduction of which the respective countries shall have made provision in the proportion of their respective contributions: that if at any future day the separate debt of each country respectively shall have been liquidated, or if the values of their respective debts (estimated according to the amount of the interest and annuities attending the same, and of the sinking fund applicable to the reduction thereof, and to the period within which the whole capital of such debt shall appear to be redeemable by such sinking fund) shall

be to each other in the same proportion with the respective contributions of each country respectively; or if the amount by which the value of the larger of such debts shall vary from such proportion, shall not exceed one hundredth part of the said value; and if it shall appear to the parliament of the united kingdom, that the respective circumstances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each, to the future expenditure of the united kingdom, it shall be competent to the parliament of the united kingdom to declare, that all future expence thenceforth to be incurred, together with the interest and charges of all joint debts contracted previous to such declaration, shall be so defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each country, and thenceforth, from time to time, as circumstances may require, to impose and apply such taxes accordingly, subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear, from time to time, to demand: that from the period of such declaration it shall no longer be necessary to regulate the contribution of the two countries towards the future expenditure of the united kingdom according to any specific proportion, or according to any of the rules herein-before prescribed; provided nevertheless that the interest or charges which may remain on account of any part of the separate debt with which either country shall be chargeable, and which shall not be liquidated or consolidated proportionably as above, shall, until extinguished, continue to be defrayed by separate taxes in each country: that a sum, not less than the sum which has been granted by the parliament of Ireland on the average of six years immediately preceding the first day of January, in the year one thousand eight hundred, in premiums for the internal encouragement of agriculture or manufactures, or

for the maintaining institutions for pious and charitable purposes, shall be applied for the period of twenty years after the Union to such local purposes in Ireland, in such manner as the parliament of the united kingdom shall direct: that, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all public revenue arising to the united kingdom from the territorial dependencies thereof, and applied to the general expenditure of the united kingdom, shall be so applied in the proportions of the respective contributions of the two countries.

Art. VIII. That it be the eighth article of the Union, that all laws in force at the time of the Union, and all the courts of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations and regulations, from time to time, as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require; provided that all writs of error and appeals depending at the time of the Union, or hereafter to be brought, and which might now be finally decided by the house of lords of either kingdom, shall, from and after the Union, be finally decided by the house of lords of the united kingdom; and provided that from and after the Union there shall remain in Ireland an instance court of admiralty, for the determination of causes civil and maritime only, and that the appeal from sentences of the said court shall be to his majesty's delegates in his court of chancery in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland; and that all laws at present in force in either kingdom, which shall be contrary to any of the provisions which may be enacted by any act for carrying these articles into effect, be from and after the Union repealed.

And whereas the said articles having, by address of the respective houses of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland, been humbly laid before his majesty, his majesty has

been graciously pleased to approve the same, and to recommend it to his two houses of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland to consider of such measures as may be necessary for giving effect to the said articles: in order therefore to give full effect and validity to the same, be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, the said foregoing recited articles, each and every one of them, according to the true import and tenor thereof, be ratified, confirmed, and approved, and be, and they are hereby declared to be, the articles of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, and the same shall be in force and have effect for ever, from the first day of January which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one; provided that before that period an act shall have been passed by the parliament of Ireland for carrying into effect, in the like manner, the said foregoing recited articles.

II. And whereas an act entituled "An Act to regulate the Mode by which the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, to serve in the Parliament of the united Kingdom, on the Part of Ireland, shall be summoned and returned to the said Parliament," has been passed by the parliament of Ireland, the tenor whereof is as follows: an act to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, to serve in the parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland shall be summoned and returned to the said parliament: whereas it is agreed by the fourth article of the Union, that four lords spiritual of Ireland, by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland, elected for life by the peers of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the house of lords of the united kingdom; and one hundred commoners (two for each county of

Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the college of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs,) be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the house of commons of the parliament of the united kingdom; be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal and commons in this parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said four lords spiritual shall be taken from among the lords spiritual of Ireland in the manner following; that is to say, that one of the four archbishops of Ireland, and three of the eighteen bishops of Ireland, shall sit in the house of lords of the united parliament in each session thereof; the said right of sitting being regulated as between the said archbishops respectively by a rotation among the archiepiscopal sees from session to session, and in like manner that of the bishops, by a like rotation among the episcopal sees: that the primate of all Ireland for the time being shall sit in the first session of the parliament of the united kingdom, the archbishop of Dublin for the time being in the second, the archbishop of Cashel for the time being in the third, and the archbishop of Tuam for the time being in the fourth, and so by rotation of sessions for ever; such rotation to proceed regularly and without interruption from session to session, notwithstanding any dissolution or expiration of parliament: that three suffragan bishops shall in like manner sit according to rotation of their sees, from session to session, in the following order: the Lord Bishop of Meath, the Lord Bishop of Kildare, the Lord Bishop of Derry, in the first session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the Lord Bishop of Raphoe, the Lord Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe, the Lord Bishop of Dromore, in the second session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the Lord Bishop of Elphin, the Lord

Bishop of Down and Connor, the Lord Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, in the third session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the Lord Bishop of Leighlin and Fernes, the Lord Bishop of Cloyne, the Lord Bishop of Cork and Ross, in the fourth session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the Lord Bishop of Killaloe and Kilsenora, the Lord Bishop of Kilmore, the Lord Bishop of Clogher, in the fifth session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the Lord Bishop of Ossory, the Lord Bishop of Killala and Achonry, the Lord Bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, in the sixth session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the said rotation to be nevertheless subject to such variation therefrom, from time to time, as is hereinafter provided: that the said twenty-eight lords temporal shall be chosen by all the temporal peers of Ireland, in the manner herein-after provided; that each of the lords temporal so chosen shall be entitled to sit in the house of lords of the parliament of the united kingdom during his life; and in case of his death, or forfeiture of any of the said lords temporal, the temporal peers of Ireland shall, in the manner herein-after provided, choose another peer out their own number to supply the place so vacant. And be it enacted, that of the one hundred commoners to sit on the the part of Ireland in the united parliament, sixty four shall be chosen for the counties, and thirty-six for the following cities and boroughs, viz. for each county of Ireland two, for the city of Dublin two, for the city of Cork two, for the college of the Holy Trinity of Dublin one, for the city of Waterford one, for the city of Limerick one, for the borough of Belfast one, for the county and town of Drogheda one, for the county and town of Carrickfergus one, for the borough of Newry one, for the city of Kilkenny one, for the city of Londonderry one, for the town of Galway one, for the borough of Clonmell one, for town of Wexford one, for the town of Youghall one, for the town of Bandon-

Bridge one, for the borough of Armagh one, for the borough of Dundalk one, for the town of Kinsale one, for the borough of Lisburne one, for the borough of Sligo one, for the borough of Catherlough one, for the borough of Ennis one, for the borough of Dungarven one, for the borough of Downpatrick one, for the borough of Colrain one, for the town of Mallow one, for the borough of Athlone one, for the town of New Ross one, for the borough of Tralee one, for the city of Cashel one, for the borough of Dungannon one, for the borough of Portarlinton one, for the borough of Enniskillen one. And be it enacted, that in case of the summoning of a new parliament; or if the seat of any of the said commoners shall become vacant by death or otherwise, then the said counties, cities, and boroughs, or any of them, as the case may be, shall proceed to a new election, and that all the other towns, cities, corporations or boroughs, other than the aforesaid, shall cease to elect representatives to serve in parliament, and no meeting shall at any time hereafter be summoned, called, convened, or held, for the purpose of electing any person or persons to serve or act, or be considered as representative or representatives of any other place, town, city, corporation or borough other than the aforesaid, or as representative or representatives of the freemen, freeholders, householders or inhabitants thereof, either in the parliament of the united kingdom or else where (unless it shall hereafter be otherwise provided by the parliament of the united kingdom;) and every person summoning, calling, or holding any such meeting or assembly, or taking any part in such election or pretended election, shall, being thereof duly convicted, incur and suffer the pains and penalties ordained and provided by the statute of provision and præmunire, made in the sixteenth year of the reign of Richard the Second. For the due election of the persons to be chosen to sit in the respective houses of parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, be it enacted, that on the day fol-

lowing that on which the act for establishing the Union shall have received the royal assent, the primate of all Ireland, the Lord Bishop of Meath, the Lord Bishop of Kildare, and the Lord Bishop of Derry, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be the representatives of the lords spiritual of Ireland in the parliament of the united kingdom, for the first session thereof; and that the temporal peers of Ireland shall assemble at twelve of the clock on the same day as aforesaid, in the now accustomed place of meeting of the House of Lords of Ireland, and shall then and there proceed to elect twenty-eight lords temporal to represent the peerage of Ireland, in the parliament of the united kingdom, in the following manner; that is to say, the names of the peers shall be called over according to their rank, by the clerk of the crown, or his deputy, who shall then and there attend for that purpose; and each of the said peers, who, previous to the said day, and the present parliament shall have actually taken his seat in the house of lords of Ireland, and who shall there have taken the oaths, and signed the declaration which are or shall be by law required to be taken and signed by the lords of the parliament of Ireland, before they can sit and vote in the parliament hereof, shall when his name is called, deliver, either by himself or his proxy (the name of such proxy having been previously entered in the books of the house of lords of Ireland, according to the present forms and usages thereof,) to the clerk of the crown, or his deputy (who shall then and there attend for that purpose) a list of twenty eight of the temporal peers of Ireland; and the clerk of the crown, or his deputy, shall then and there publicly read the said lists, and shall then and then cast up the said lists, and publicly declare the names of the twenty eight lords who shall be chosen by the majority of votes in the said lists, and shall make a return of the said names to the house of lords of the first parliament of the united kingdom; and the twenty eight lords so chosen

by the majority of votes in the said lists, shall, during their respective lives, sit as representatives of the peers of Ireland in the house of lords of the united kingdom, and be entitled to receive writs of summons to that and every succeeding parliament; and in case a complete election shall not be made of the whole number of twenty eight peers, by reason of an equality of votes, the clerk of the crown shall return such number in favour of whom a complete election shall have been made in one list, and in a second list shall return the names of those peers who shall have an equality of votes, but in favour of whom, by reason of such equality, a complete election shall not have been made, and the names of the peers in the second list, for whom an equal number of votes shall have been given, shall be written on pieces of paper of similar form, and shall be put into a glass by the clerk of the parliament of the united kingdom, at the table of the house of lords thereof, whilst the house is sitting, and the peer whose name shall be first drawn out by the clerk of the parliament, shall be deemed the peer elected; and so successively as often as the case may require: and whenever the seat of any of the twenty eight lords temporal, so elected shall be vacated by decease or forfeiture, the chancellor, the keeper, or commissioners of the great seal of the united kingdom for the time being, upon receiving a certificate under the hand and seal of any two lords temporal of the parliament of the united kingdom, certifying the decease of such peer, or on view of the record of attainder of such peer, shall direct a writ to be issued under the great seal of the united kingdom, to the chancellor, the keeper, or commissioners of the great seal of Ireland for the time being, directing him or them to cause writs to be issued by the clerk of the crown in Ireland, to every temporal peer of Ireland, who shall have sat and voted in the house of lords of Ireland before the Union, or whose right to sit and vote therein, or to vote

at such elections, shall, on claim made on his behalf, have been admitted by the house of lords of Ireland, before the Union or after the Union by the house of lords of the united kingdom, and notice shall forthwith be published by the said clerk of the crown, in the London and Dublin Gazettes, of the issuing of such writs, and of the names and titles of all the peers to whom the same are directed; and to the said writs there shall be annexed a form of return thereof, in which a blank shall be left for the name of the peer to be elected, and the said writs shall enjoin each peer, within fifty-two days from the teste of the writ, to return the same into the Crown Office of Ireland, with the blank filled up, by inserting the name of the peer for whom he shall vote, as the peer to succeed to the vacancy made by demise or forfeiture as aforesaid; and the said writs and returns shall be bipartite, so as that the name of the peer to be chosen, shall be written twice, that is, once on each part of such writ and return, and so as that each part may also be subscribed by the peer to whom the same shall be directed, and likewise be sealed with his seal of arms; and one part of the said writs and returns so filled up, subscribed and sealed as above, shall remain of record in the Crown Office of Ireland, and the other part shall be be certified by the clerk of the crown, to the clerk of the parliament of the united kingdom, and no peer of Ireland, except such as shall have been elected as representative peers on the part of Ireland in the house of lords of the united kingdom, and shall there have taken the oaths, and signed the declaration prescribed by law, shall, under pain of suffering such punishment as the house of lords of the united kingdom may award and adjudge, make a return to such writ, unless she shall, after the issuing thereof, and before the day on which the writ is returnable, have taken the oaths and signed the declaration which are or shall be by law required, to be taken and signed by the lords of the united

kingdom, before they can sit and vote in the parliament thereof; which oaths and declaration shall be either taken and subscribed in the court of chancery of Ireland, or before one of his majesty's justices of the peace of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, a certificate whereof, signed by such justices of the peace, or by the register of the said court of chancery, shall be transmitted by such peer with the return, and shall be annexed to that part thereof remaining of record in the Crown office of Ireland; and the clerk of the crown shall forthwith after the return day of the writs, caused to be published in the London and Dublin Gazettes, a notice of the name of the person chosen by the majority or votes, and the peer so chosen shall during his life, be one of the peers to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the house of lords of the united kingdom; and in case the votes shall be equal, the names of such persons who have an equal number of votes in their favour, shall be written on pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass by the clerk of the parliament of the united kingdom, at the table of the house of lords, whilst the house is sitting, and the peer whose name shall be first drawn out by the clerk of the parliament, shall be deemed the peer elected. And be it enacted, that in case any lord spiritual, being a temporal peer of the united kingdom, or being a temporal peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, shall be chosen by the lords temporal to be one of the representatives of the lords temporal, in every such case, during the life of such spiritual peer being a temporal peer of the united kingdom, or being a temporal peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, so chosen to represent the lords temporal, the rotation of representation of the spiritual lords, shall proceed to the next spiritual lord, without regard to such spiritual lord so chosen a temporal peer, that is to say, if such spiritual

lord shall be an archbishop, then the rotation shall proceed to the archbishop whose see is next in rotation, and if such spiritual lord shall be a suffragan bishop, then the rotation shall proceed to the suffragan bishop whose see is next in rotation. And whereas, by the said fourth article of Union it is agreed, that, if his majesty shall, on or before the first day of January next, declare, under the great seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain should be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain, then the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain shall accordingly be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain; be it enacted, for and in that case only, that the present members of the thirty-two counties of Ireland, and the two members for the city of Dublin, and the two members for the city of Cork, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be, by virtue of this act, members for the said counties and cities in the first parliament of the united kingdom; and that, on a day and hour to be appointed by his majesty under the great seal of Ireland, previous to the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, the members then serving for the College of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, and for each of the following cities or boroughs, that is to say, the city of Waterford, city of Limerick, borough of Belfast, county and town of Drogheda, county and town of Carrickfergus, borough of Newry, city of Kilkenny, city of Londonderry, town of Galway, borough of Clonmell, town of Wexford, town of Youghall, town of Bandon Bridge, borough of Armagh, borough of Dundalk, town of Kinsale, borough of Lisburne, borough of Sligo, borough of Catherlough, borough of Ennis, borough of Dungarvon, borough of Downpatrick, borough of Colerain, town of

Maclow, borough of Athlone, town of New Ross, borough of Tralee, city of Cashel, borough of Dungannon, borough of Portarlinton, and borough of Enniskillen, or any five or more of them shall meet in the now usual place of meeting of the house of commons of Ireland, and the names of the members then serving for the said places and boroughs, shall be written on separate pieces of paper, and the said papers being folded up, shall be placed in a glass or glasses, and shall successively be drawn thereout by the clerk of the crown, or his deputy, who shall then and there attend for that purpose; and the first drawn name of a member of each of the aforesaid places or boroughs, shall be taken as the name of the member to serve for the said place or borough in the first parliament of the united kingdom: and a return of the said names shall be made by the clerk of the crown, or his deputy, to the house of commons of the first parliament of the united kingdom; and a certificate thereof shall be given respectively by the said clerk of the crown, or his deputy, to each of the members whose names shall have been so drawn: Provided always, that it may be allowed to any member of any of the said places or boroughs, by personal application, to be then and there made by him to the clerk of the crown, or his deputy, or by declaration in writing under his hand, to be transmitted by him to the clerk of the crown, previous to the said day so appointed as above, to withdraw his name previous to the drawing of the names by lot; in which case, or in that of a vacancy by death or otherwise, of one of the members of any of the said places or boroughs, at the time of so drawing the names, the name of the other member shall be returned as aforesaid, as the name of the member to serve for such place in the first parliament of the united kingdom; or if both members for any such place or borough shall so withdraw their names, or if there shall be a vacancy or both

members at the time aforesaid, the clerk of the crown shall certify the same to the house of commons of the first parliament of the united kingdom, and shall also express in such return, whether any writ shall then have issued for the election of a member or members to supply such vacancy; and if a writ shall so have issued for the election of one member only, such writ shall be superceded, and any election to be thereafter made thereupon shall be null and of no effect; and if such writ shall have issued for the election of two members, the said two members shall be chosen accordingly, and their names being returned by the clerk of the crown to the house of commons of the parliament of the united kingdom, one of the said members shall then be drawn, by lot, in such manner and time as the said house of commons shall direct, and the person whose name shall be so drawn, shall be deemed to be the member to sit for such place in the first parliament of the united kingdom; but, if at the time aforesaid, no writ shall have issued to supply such vacancy, none shall thereafter issue until the same be ordered by resolution of the house of commons of the parliament of the united kingdom, as in the case of any other vacancy of a seat in the house of commons of the parliament of the united kingdom. And be it enacted, that whenever his majesty, his heirs, and successors, shall, by proclamation, under the great seal of the united kingdom, summon a new parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the chancellor, keeper, or commissioners of the great seal of Ireland, shall cause writs to be issued to the several counties, cities, College of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, and boroughs of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, specified in this act, for the election of members to serve in the parliament of the united kingdom, according to the numbers herein-before set forth; and whenever any vacancy of a seat in the house of commons of the parliament of the united

kingdom, for any of the said counties, cities, or boroughs, or for the said college of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, shall arise, by death or otherwise, the chancellor, keeper, or commissioners of the great seal, upon such vacancy being certified by them respectively, by the proper warrant, shall forthwith cause a writ to issue for the election of a person to fill up such vacancy; and such writ, and the returns thereof, respectively being returned into the crown office in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, shall from thence be transmitted to the Crown Office in that part of the united kingdom called England, and be certified to the house of commons in the same manner as the like returns have been usually or shall hereafter be certified; and copies of the said writs and returns, attested by the chancellor, keeper, or commissioners of the great seal of Ireland for the time being, shall be preserved in the Crown Office of Ireland, and shall be evidence of such writs and returns, in case the original writs and returns shall be lost; be it enacted, that the said act, so herein recited, be taken as a part of this act, be deemed to all intents and purposes incorporated within the same.

III. And be it enacted, that the great seal of Ireland may, if his majesty shall so think fit, after the Union, be used in like manner as before the Union, except where it is otherwise provided by the foregoing articles, within that part of the united kingdom called Ireland; and that his majesty may, so long as he shall think fit, continue the privy council of Ireland to be his privy council for that part of the united kingdom called Ireland.

No. XI.

Second Proclamation of the Union.

GEORGE R.

Whereas, by the first article of the articles of Union of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, as the same have been ratified and confirmed by two acts of parliament, the one made in our parliament of Great Britain, and the other in our parliament of Ireland, it was provided, that the ensigns, armorial flags, and banners of our united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, should be such as we should appoint by our royal proclamation under the seal of our said united kingdom, and whereas we have by our royal proclamation, dated this day, appointed and declared, that the arms or ensigns armorial of the said united kingdom should be as therein expressed, and whereas, according to ancient usage the ensigns, flags, jacks, and pendants, worn by our ships, and appointed as a distinction for the same ought not to be worn on board any ship or vessel belonging to any of our subjects, so that our ships and those of our subjects may be easily distinguished and known: We have therefore thought fit, by and with the advice of our privy council, to order and appoint the ensigns, described on the side or margin hereof, to be worn on board all ships or vessels belonging to any of our subjects whatsoever; and to issue this our royal proclamation to notify the same to all our loving subjects, hereby strictly charging and commanding the masters of all merchant ships and vessels belonging to any of our subjects, whether employed in our service or otherwise, and all other persons whom it may concern to wear the said ensign on board their ships or

vessels. And to the end that none of our subjects may presume, on board their ships, to wear our flags, jacks, and pendants, which, according to ancient usage has been appointed as a distinction to our ships; or any flags, jacks, or pendants, in shape and mixture of colours so far resembling ours as not to be easily distinguished therefrom: We do with the advice of our privy council, hereby strictly charge and command all our subjects whatsoever, that they do not presume to wear, in any of their ships or vessels, our jack, commonly called the union jack, nor any pendants, nor any such colours as are usually borne by our ships, without particular warrant for their so doing from us, or our high admiral of Great Britain, or the commissioners for executing the office of high admiral for the time being: And we do also hereby further command all our loving subjects, that, without such warrant as aforesaid, they presume not to wear on board their ships or vessels, any flags, jacks, pendants, or colours, made in imitation of or resembling ours, or any kind of pendent whatsoever, or any other ensign than the ensign described on the side or margin hereof, which shall be worn instead of the ensign before this time usually worn in merchant ships; saving, that for the better distinction of such ships as shall have commissions of letters of marque or reprisals against the enemy, and any other ships or vessels which may be employed by the principal officers and commissioners of our navy, the principal officers of our ordnance, the commissioners for victualling our navy, the commissioners of our customs and excise, and the commissioners for transportation for our service, relating particularly to those officers, our royal will and pleasure is, that all such ships as have commissions or letters of marque or reprisals shall, besides the colours or ensign hereby appointed to be worn by merchant ships, wear a red jack, with a union jack, described in a canton at the upper corner thereof, next the staff; and that such

ships and vessels as shall be employed for our service by the principal officers and commissioners of our navy, the principal officers of our ordnance, the commissioners for victualling our navy, the commissioners of our customs and excise, and the commissioners for transportation for our service, relating particularly to those officers, shall wear a red jack with a union jack in a canton at the upper corner thereof, next the staff, as aforesaid, and in the upper part of the said jack shall be described, the seal used in such of the respective offices aforesaid, by which the said ships and vessels shall be employed. And we do strictly charge and command, that none of our loving subjects do presume to wear any of the said distinction jacks, unless they shall have commissions of letters of marque or reprisals, or be employed in our service by any of the before mentioned officers. And we hereby require our high admiral, and commissioners for executing the office of high admiral, the governors of our forts and castles, the officers of our customs, and the commanders or officers of any of our ships for the time being, upon their meeting with, or otherwise observing any ships or vessels belonging to any of our subjects, neglecting to wear the ensign hereby appointed to be borne as aforesaid, or wearing any flag, jack, pendant, or ensign, contrary hereunto, whether at sea or in port, not only to seize, or cause to be forthwith seized, such flag, pendant, jack, or ensign, worn contrary to our royal will and pleasure herein expressed, but also to return the names of such ships and vessels neglecting to wear the ensign hereby appointed, or wearing any flag, pendant, jack, or ensign, contrary hereunto, together with the names of their respective masters or commanders, unto our high admiral, or commissioners for executing the office of high admiral, or the judge of our high court of admiralty for the time being, to the end that all persons offending may be duly punished for the same. And we do hereby command and enjoin

the judge or judges of our high court of admiralty for the time being, that they make strict inquiry concerning all such offenders and cause them to be duly punished: And all vice-admirals and judges of the vice-admiralties are hereby also required to proceed in like manner within the several ports and places belonging to their respective precincts. And our further pleasure is, that this proclamation shall take place according to the times hereinafter mentioned: viz. for all ships in the Channel or British Seas, and in the North Seas, after twelve days from the date of these presents, and from the mouth of the Channel unto Cape St. Vincent, after six weeks from the date of these presents; and beyond the Cape, and on this side the Equinoxial line, as well in the Ocean and Mediterranean as elsewhere, after ten weeks from the date of these presents; and beyond the Line, after the space of eight months from the date of these presents.

Given at our court of St. James's, the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, in the forty first year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.



No. XII.

In speaking of the extent of this Island, Dr. Beaufort observes that "The greatest length of Ireland extends from north-east to south-west; and a line so drawn between the two most remote points, Fair-Head and Mizen-Head, would cut the meridian in an angle of thirty degrees, and

measure 241 Irish miles, which somewhat exceed 306 of English statute measure. The longest line that can be stretched across the kingdom, would measure 163 Irish, or 207 English miles, from Ennlagh-Rash in Mayo, to Carnore-Point, in the county of Wexford, and this line would intersect the former in an angle of 75 degrees. But from the Stage of Cork Harbour, to Bloody Farland Point, in Donegal, is the greatest length that can be measured along a meridian, and it will not exceed 185 Irish, or 235½ English miles. If the breadth be measured in the same manner nearly on a parallel of latitude, the true breadth of the island will appear to be as follows:

Between Tellen Head, and Island Magee, 98 Irish, or 124 English miles.

Between Ennlagh-Rash, and the mouth of the Strangford Lough, 149 Irish, or 182 English miles.

Between Slime-Head and the Point of Howth, 137 Irish or 174 English miles.

Between Dummore-Head, and the Greenore-Point in Wexford, 156 Irish, or 179 English miles.

“ But there is not a spot in the kingdom *fifty* miles distant from the sea; which will not appear surprising, when we observe, that between the Bays of Dublin and Galway, there are but 86 miles, and no more than 67 between Dundalk and Ballyshannon.

“ With respect to the superficial contents of Ireland; not being able to discover any documents of authority in the public offices, I have made a computation of it, by very carefully measuring the *area* of each county on my map, and after rejecting all fractions, I have no hesitation in asserting that Ireland contains considerably more than 18,750 square miles, or several thousand acres above twelve million *Irish* measure; which is equal to 30,370 *English* miles, or 19,436,000 English acres.

"Ireland is divided with respect to its civil or political divisions, into *four* provinces, Ulster, Leinster, Connaught, and Munster.

Ulster comprises the *nine* Northern Counties; viz.

	Baronies.	Parishes.	Acres.
Armagh containing	5	20	181,450
Down	8	60	348,550
Antrim	8	77	367,200
Londonderry	4	31	318,500
Donegal	4	42	679,550
Tyrone	4	35	463,700
Fermanagh	8	18	283,450
Cavan	7	30	301,000
Monaghan	5	19	179,600
Lough Meaghcovers			58,200

Leinster comprises the *twelve* Eastern Counties.

	Baronies.	Parishes.	Acres.
Louth containing	4	61	110,750
Meath	12	147	327,900
Dublin	6	107	142,050
Wicklow	6	58	311,600
Wexford	8	142	342,900
Kilkenny	9	127	300,350
Carlow	5	50	137,050
Kildare	10	113	236,750
Queen's County	8	59	235,300
King's County	11	52	282,200
Westmeath	12	62	231,550
Longford	6	23	134,100

Connaught comprises the *five* Western Counties.

	Baronies.	Parishes.	Acres.
Galway containing	16	116	989,950
Mayo	9	68	790,600
Sligo	6	39	247,150
Leitrim	5	17	255,950
Roscommon	6	36	346,650

Munster comprises the *six* Southern Counties.

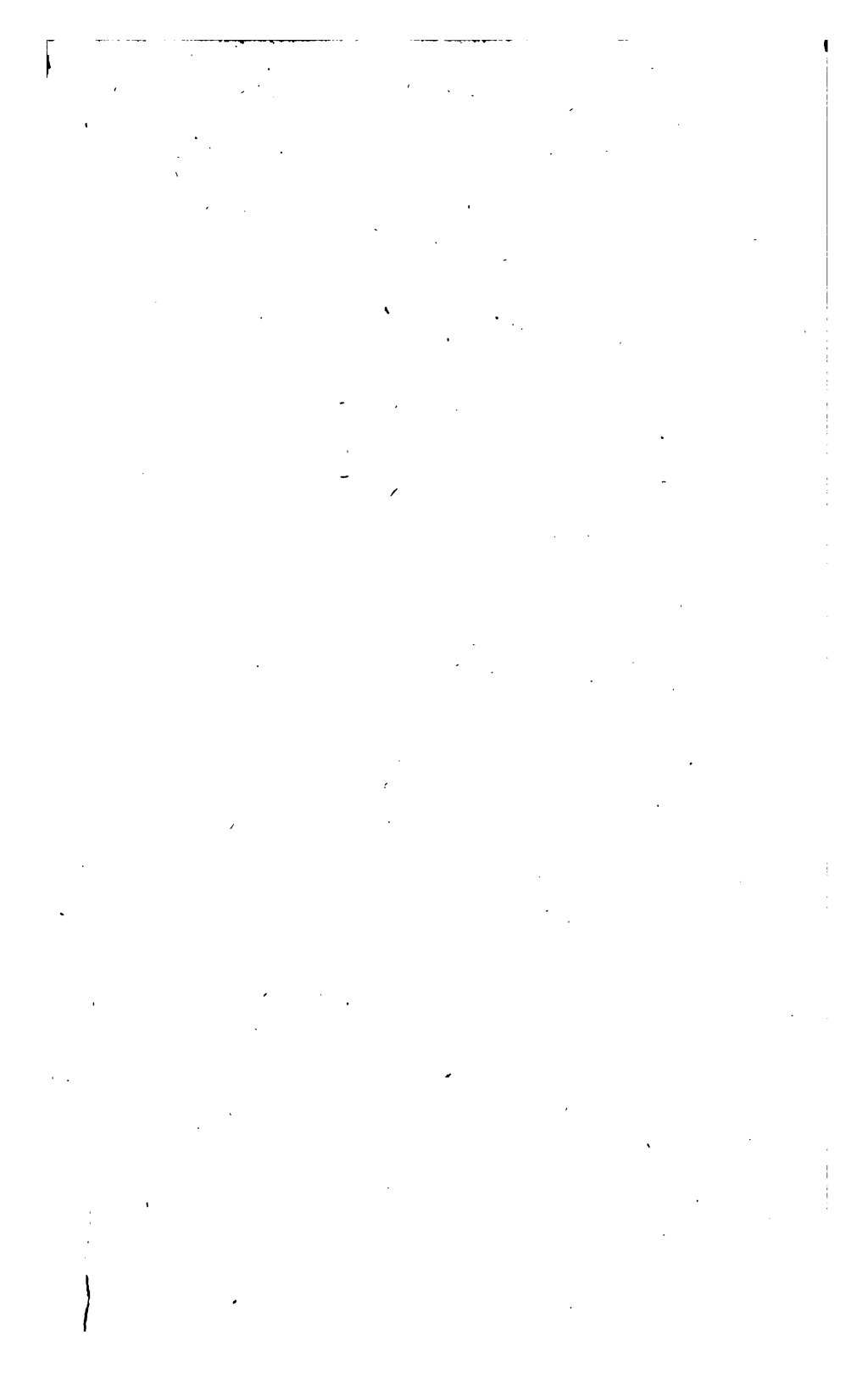
Cork containing	16	269	1,048,800
Kerry	8	83	647,650
Clare	9	79	476,200
Limerick	9	125	386,750
Tipperary	10	186	554,950
Waterford	7	74	262,800

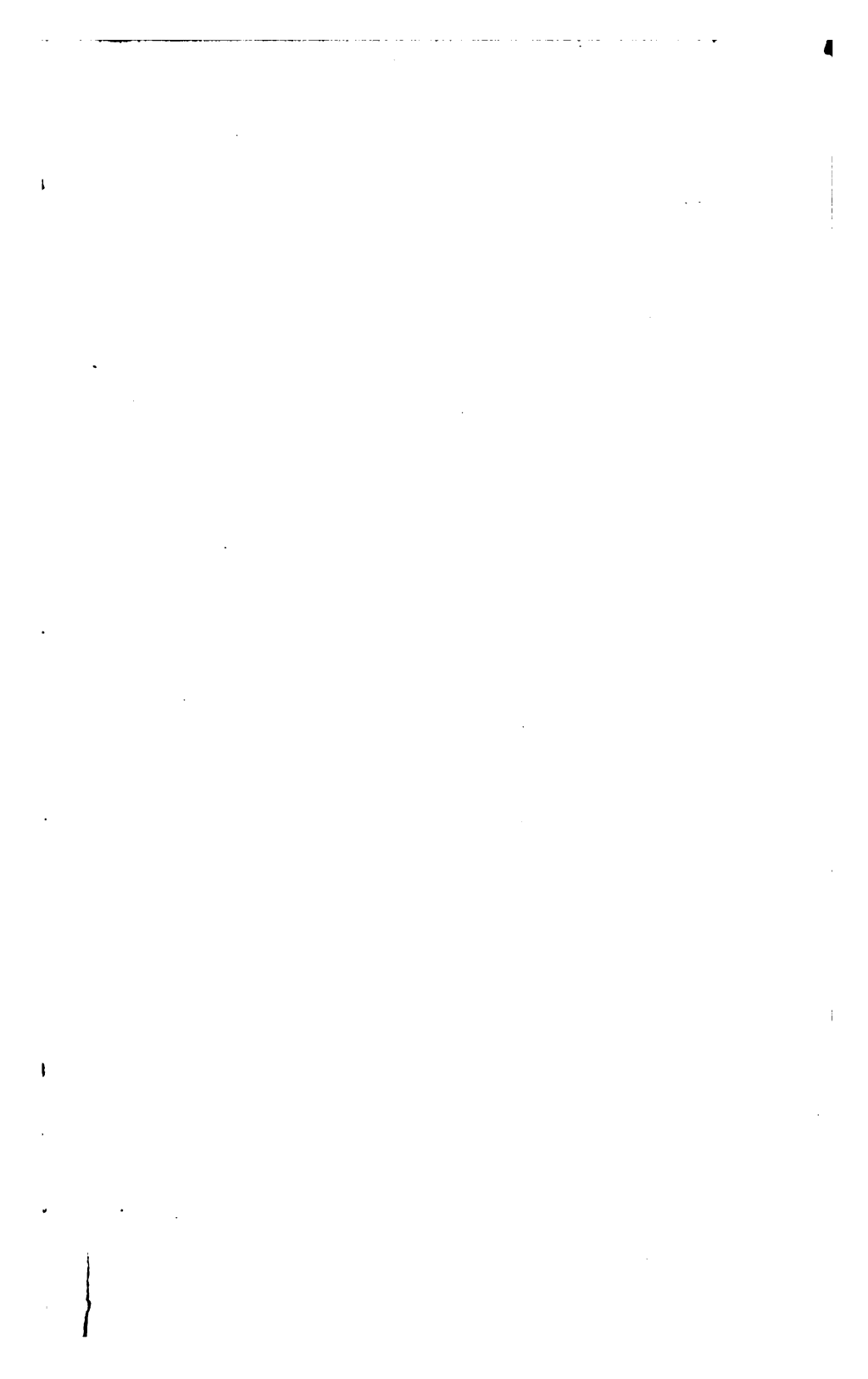
Ulster	53	332	3,201,200
Leinster	97	992	2,792,550
Connaught	42	296	2,630,300
Munster	59	816	3,377,150

12,001,200

"All fractions having been excluded from this calculation, it is very much *under* the full number of acres in Ireland."

THE END.





B'D DEC 8 - 1914

